

**BHAVABHŪTI AND HIS PLACE
IN SANSKRIT LITERATURE**

ANUNDORAM BOROOAH

PUBLICATION BOARD, ASSAM

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classics

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ANUNDORAM BOROOAH

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INTRODUCTION TO THIS EDITION

Several factors have weighed with the Publication Board, Assam, in undertaking to reprint the priceless works of the great Sanskrit scholar, Anundoram Borooah, which were first published about a hundred years ago. Our prime consideration has been the fact that Anundoram Borooah belonged to that pioneering and noble band of Indian scholars who had addressed themselves to the task of rehabilitating the glory and greatness of the Sanskrit language, Sanskrit literature and Sanskrit education. Secondly, the brilliance and profundity of the commentaries and criticisms written by him on a number of important Sanskrit books are almost without parallel in the whole range of Sanskrit literature. Thirdly, by reprinting his works we aspire to rediscover for lovers of Sanskrit all over the world a fund of literary treasures which is now almost forgotten. Finally, we do hope that our endeavour will enable present generations of Indians to become acquainted with the achievements of one of the most eminent scholars of Assam, and of the country as a whole, who died at the early age of thirty-nine.

People of today cannot but marvel at Anundoram Borooah's stupendous creative genius which found its fulfilment within the span of a short life and which refused to be bogged down in the day-to-day problems of administration that he had to tackle in the capacity of a high official in the civil service of the British Government. The short biography included in the book would help readers to have an idea of the richness and vitality of his wonderful mind. In those days few Indians could aspire to a fame that extended beyond the frontiers of the country, and this was true especially for a man belonging to this remote corner of India. But Anundoram's deep devotion to literature and his great erudition had won for him the appreciation and admiration of scholars from all over the world. The truth of this is amply borne out by the tributes which are included in the appendix of this book. Anundoram

was the first graduate from Assam and the first and the only member of the Indian Civil Service from this State.

Anundoram Borooah's entire life was dedicated to literary pursuits. In fact, the story of his brief life may be said to be a story of the love and devotion which inspired his studies of Sanskrit literature. Only a few others can rival him in the zeal that he brought to bear upon his efforts to restore Sanskrit literature to its rightful pre-eminent position. The noble faith that informed his pursuit of Sanskrit literature is clearly expressed in the following words quoted from his book, *Mahāvīracharita*: "To me, Sanskrit is dearer than any other language. Its music has charms which no words can express. Its capability of representing every form of human thought in most appropriate language is probably not rivalled, certainly not surpassed by any other language. Most touching scenes have been drawn in heart-rending words. Most noble images have been clothed in most sublime language. Most terrific pictures have been couched in terror-producing expressions; and among the foremost to elevate the language and enrich the literature of ancient India stands the name of our poet *Vaśyavāk Kāśyapa Bhavabhūti Śrīkaṇṭha*. His plays have been all translated into English, two by more than one writer, and it can be confidently predicted that before another hundred years, they will be rendered into almost every language of civilized Europe. May we hope that with the diffusion of Sanskrit, he will be as appreciated in the farthest corners of the world as he is on the banks of the *Śiprā* and near the ruins of *Vijayanagara*."

Anundoram Borooah's essay on *Bhavabhūti* and his place in Sanskrit literature has already been incorporated in our edition of *Mahāvīracharita* published in 1969. In the preface to *Mahāvīracharita*, Anundoram mentions these two works as complementary to each other, although the essay was first printed in a separate edition in February, 1878, that is, a year later than the play. "*Bhavabhūti and His Place in Sanskrit Literature*" is, however, regarded by scholars as a work of unique distinction, as it is a pioneering

effort and, at the same time, an achievement of great scholarly value in the field of literary criticism in India. Prior to this work, there was little evidence of any attempt on the part of Indian scholars to assess the merit of Sanskrit writers and their works on the basis of well-defined literary principles. Judging from this point of view, Anundoram's "Bhavabhūti and His Place in Sanskrit Literature" may be said to have set up a new tradition leading to more enlightened understanding and better appreciation of the Sanskrit writers and their works. We have, therefore, thought it desirable that the essay should be made available to the reading public in a separate edition.

Anundoram's original genius as a Sanskrit scholar and his interest in the fundamentals of literary creation are seen to the best advantage in this work. His conclusions about the date of Bhavabhūti formulated on the basis of evidence drawn from the Rāmaic plays of different authors and other sources, and his views on the art of Bhavabhūti expounded through an elaborate study and critical analysis of the poet's dramatic works have invested this treatise with an authority which has been unhesitatingly acknowledged by succeeding generations of critics and scholars.

"Bhavabhūti and His Place in Sanskrit Literature" is the product of a most penetrating intellect and bears the unmistakable stamp of deep and painstaking scholarship. English writers like Colebrooke, Wilson and Elphinstone regarded Bhavabhūti as one of the greatest Sanskrit poets and a playwright who could rival Kālidāsa in the mastery of the dramatic art. It was, however, perhaps Anundoram who, among the Indian Scholars, was the first to fathom and unravel the true greatness of his genius and the grandeur of his craftsmanship and poetic style. Few, we believe, would dispute his estimate of Bhavabhūti as expressed in the following words: "But these three plays ("Mahāvīracharita", "Uttara Rāma Charita" and "Mālatī Mādhava") have immortalized his name. It will be conceded by the most fastidious critic that their author, with all his faults, was a great

poet with lofty genius excelling alike in moving the heart by depicting tender emotions riveting attention by describing in noble language what is grand and terrific in nature."

From his opening remarks in the play, Mahāvīracharita, it is evident that Bhavabhūti had a greater appeal for Anundoram than any other Sanskrit Poet. It appears that during his life-time Bhavabhūti did not receive due recognition of his poetic genius and creative ability. In Mālatī-Mādhava he gives expression to his disappointment in the following words:

ये नाम केचिदिह नः प्रथयन्त्यवज्ञां
जानन्ति ते किमपि तान् प्रति नैष यत्नः ।
उत्पत्स्यतेऽस्ति मम कोऽपि समानधर्मा
कालो ह्ययं निरवधिर्विपुला च पृथ्वी ॥

("Can those who regard me with disdain claim to know much ? I have not laboured for their sake. There will appear in the future a man who is my equal in worth or, perhaps, even today somewhere there lives such a man, for time is endless and the world vast.")

Can we not, therefore, assert with perfect justification that the man Bhavabhūti was dreaming of is Anundoram of Assam ?

The chief object of the Publication Board, Assam, established in 1959, has been to publish and reprint the best works in different languages and thus help the enrichment of our language, literature and culture through contact with all that is best in world literature. It is this object that has inspired this Board to reprint the works of Anundoram Borooah. We are confident that our efforts will have the goodwill and support of all who sympathise with our aims.

We must acknowledge here our debt of gratitude to that famous scholar and historian of Assam, the late Dr. Suryya Kumar Bhuyan, who, more than anybody else, was responsible for acquainting the present generations with the genius and achievements of Anundoram Borooah. In this connection, we refer to Dr. Bhuyan's memorable biography of Anundoram written in Assamese. The biographical sketch included in

this book and the note on Anundoram in the Appendix have been reproduced from Dr. Bhuyan's book. We offer our grateful thanks to Srijuta Laksheswari Bhuyan, the wife of Dr. Bhuyan, and the publishers of the book, the Lawyers' Book Stall, Gauhati, for kindly permitting us to use the material.

With this enterprise will also remain associated the names of our ex-Chief Minister, Sri Bimala Prasad Chaliha, and Sri Mahendra Mohan Chaudhury, the present Chief Minister, and Chairman of Publication Board, Assam, who took a keen interest in the publication of the books by Anundoram Borooah.

Finally, a word of thanks is also due to Prof. Rajanikanta Dev Sarma, who carefully and conscientiously corrected the proofs, including errors of misprint of the original.

Gauhati-3
Assam
May 15, 1971

Chandra Prasad Saikia
Secretary
Publication Board, Assam



ANUNDORAM BOROOAH



BHAVABHÚTI

AND

HIS PLACE IN SANSKRIT LITERATURE

The name of Bhavabhúti stands high in Sanskrit literature. It is perhaps the highest in eloquence of expression and sublimity of imagination. Throughout the whole range of Sanskrit literature—from the simple lessons of Hitopadesha to the most elaborate polish of Naishadha—from the *terse* vigour of Śankaráchārya to the studied majesty of Mágha—from the harmonious grace of Kálidása to the ornate picturesqueness of Kádambarī, there is probably no writer who can come up to Bhavabhúti in his wonderful command of Sanskrit language* and surprising fluency and elevation of diction. The most difficult verses with the most complicated prosody seem to flow from his tongue without interruption—without any efforts—without a moment's reflection. Here and there one may notice words put in more to fit the metre—which throw no additional light on and sometimes diminish the beauty of his passages. But these stains are few and far between. As a rule, every word is in its proper place and has been used with most distinct force. It is extremely probable that he spent years in study before he commenced to write the first of his plays. It is next to certainty that during these years he nourished his wonderful memory with a very great stock of words and facts. And it is not to be wondered that he could afterwards put forth his powers with such facility as is shewn in his works.†

*In Vi. i. 4, he calls himself वश्यवाक् and he certainly merits this title as much as the title of श्रीकण्ठ given him by his contemporaries.

†I cannot therefore agree with Horace Wilson that his style is highly elaborate. The best test of fluency is flow of language and absence of intricate

2. The eloquence of Bhavabhúti is also apparent from the turn he gives to his *ślokas* according as a new thought occurs to the speaker's mind or a new direction given by new circumstances. This is the *forte* of all effective speakers and a great instrument in their hands and Bhavabhúti has not failed to take advantage of it. Read, e.g., Vi. iv. 32, where Vishvámitra when going to say भृगुपतिदमन finds that the word दमन would be offensive to Bhárgava and immediately changes it into विहित without any violation of the metre. See, e.g., Vi. vi. 7, where Mályaván, in speaking of the prowess of Rávana, notices an ill omen and immediately changes the train of his thought and finishes the verse with an appropriate sentence. Note, e.g., U. iii. 26, where Vásantí is too much moved to finish the last sentence and very effectively adds शान्तमथवा किमिहोत्तरेण.*

3. Various causes have left the field of Indian eloquence almost an uninterrupted desert and the writings of Bhavabhúti, irrespective of the music of the classical Sanskrit, which is probably unrivalled, will always be admired and passionately studied by every lover of India and Indian literature as a masterpiece of Sanskrit eloquence shewing the high degree of perfection to which the art would have reached under more favourable circumstances.

4. But the plays of Bhavabhúti are interesting not simply for its language—not simply for its poetry but instructive alike to the student of Sanskrit for the idioms they contain—to the historian for the lights they throw on the state and manners of

construction. I know of none denying the first to Bhavabhúti. Those, who think his construction is often intricate, are, I venture to express, always wrong, not a single such instance occurring to me. Where commentators have forced this defect on him, better meaning can be drawn by understanding the passages in their natural and simpler construction. It is true that some of his passages are obscure. But this arises sometimes from a crowd of thought overpowering his mind and sometimes from his using rare and obscure terms. But are there no obscure passages in Burke ? Is his style half as elaborate as that of Macaulay ?

*Bhavabhúti is perhaps the originator of this style of writing in drama. At all events, no other Sanskrit dramatist, so far as I can judge, equals him in its effective use.

the country—to the geographer for the solution of some of the difficult questions of ancient Indian geography. And I hope the day is not distant when our countrymen will care more for our home literature than they now do for Shakespeare and Bacon—for Addison and Johnson.*

5. Three works have come down to us associated with the name of Bhavabhūti and the same master-hand is clearly visible in each of them. The same classical style—the same vast erudition—the same power of analyzing emotions and describing nature. But the author has not left us to mere guess. With the usual rule of Sanskrit poets, he has interspersed verses of one play in another, sometimes in whole, sometimes in part. For instance, U. I. 8=Vi. IV. 33; U. I. 13 (second line)=Vi. IV. 27 (second line); U. I. 15=U. VI. 15=Vi. I. 42; U. I. 16 (second line)=Vi. I. 19 (second line); U. I. 17=Vi. I. 57; U. I. 22=Vi. IV. 52; U. I. 31=Ma. IX. 13; U. I. 33 (second line)=Vi. V. 42 (last line); U. I. 36 (first two lines)=Ma. VI. 8 (first two lines); U. II. 15=Vi. V. 13†; U. II. 20=Vi. V. 40 (third line=first line Ma. IX. 23); U. II. 21=Vi. V. 41=Ma. IX. 6; U. II. 29 (first line)=Ma. V. 19 (first line); U. III. 16=Ma. IX. 33; U. III. 31=Ma. IX. 11; U. III. 37=Ma. IX. 19; U. IV. 4=Ma. X. 2; U. IV. 9 (second line)=Vi. I. 14 (second line); U. IV. 15=Ma. IV. 7; U. IV. 19=Vi. I. 18; U. IV. 28=Vi. III. 29; U. V. 13=Ma. IX. 51 and X. 8 (first line); U. VI. 9=Vi. II. 41; U. VI. 12=Ma. I. 25; U. VI. 21 (first line)=Vi. II. 46 (first line); Ma. IX. 3

*The whole field of national literature is entirely in our hands and it is much to be regretted that our countrymen do not yet fully see that it is in our power to improve it to a great extent. The law of supply and demand applies as much to literature as to political economy and school-masters cannot do better than fully impress the truth of this maxim on their students and make them appreciate and love their own history and literature. We must act up to it not simply for the literature, but for the vast amount of remunerative work that will be thrown in the hands of our educated class—some of whom are now struggling for life and subsistence. It is easy to criticize the actions of Government. But people do not see what amount of good they can collectively do.

†See my note to Vi. V. 13.

(second line)=Vi. v. 54 (second line); Ma. ix. 23 (last two lines)=Vi. v. 42 (last two lines); Ma. v. 9 (first two lines)=Vi. ii. 45 (first two lines).

6. Coincidences in language and thought, as may be expected, are greater. I refer to my Jānakīrāmabhāṣya for some of them. To these, many others may be added. Compare, for instance, the passage in U. beginning with "हन्त विपथ्यन्तः सम्प्रति जीवलोकः" with Ma. v. 29.

7. In none of the three plays, our author gives any clue to the age in which he flourished. But if it be remembered that he is the father of Rāmaic drama and the age of the other printed Rāmaic plays be taken into consideration, I think it is easy to fix with tolerable certainty, if not with exact accuracy, the time of the distinguished poet.

8. Before however proving that Bhavabhūti was the first to dramatize the history of Rāma, I must fix the age of the printed Rāmaic plays and in doing so have no hesitation in giving the lowest place to Mahānāṭaka or Hanumannāṭaka.*

9. Either name is a misnomer for this compilation for, as I will shortly prove, it is nothing but a compilation. It is not a 'great play' for such plays should contain ten acts.† It is not "a play by a monkey," as it involves a most absurd tradition. It can scarcely be called even a play as it is a mere string of verses without any proper introduction and without any proper dialogue.

*Edited by Pandit Rāmatāraṇa Shiromaṇi with short notes (Calcutta 1870).

†"अङ्कैश्च दशभिर्धोरा महानाटकमूचिरे", Sah. vi. 224. Wilson's manuscript seems to have contained fourteen acts (Hindu Theatre: vol. i., p. 370). But I am not aware of any Sanskrit play containing more than ten acts and in reading the matters of his translation, I do not find anything that is not contained in the nine acts of the Calcutta edition.

The Sāhitya Darpaṇa mentions Bālarāmāyaṇa in illustration of the rule and very appropriately. It not only contains ten acts, but is probably the longest Sanskrit play in existence. It is very probable that as the Bālarāmāyaṇa became scarce, the title of महानाटक was appropriated by another play on the same subject.

10. In the last verse of each act, the author Madhusúdana Mísra tells us that he has arranged the work from Hanumannáṭaka. It would have been better if he had distinctly stated that he had compiled it from the Rámaic works existing in his time. I have been able to ascertain that the following verses of his so-called play are taken from the following works, most of them word for word, some with a slight change of words, a few made up with portions of two or more verses:

i. 19=Pra. i. 53; i. 20.=B. r. i. 44; i. 23=B. r. iii. 27; i. 24.=Pra. i. 32; i. 29=B. r. i. 48; i. 34=Pra. iii. 45; i. 36=Pra. iii. 49; i. 38=Vi. i. 54; ii. 2=Pra. iv. 2; ii. 3=Vi. i. 18; ii. 6=B. r. iv. 53; ii. 8=Vi. ii. 48; ii. 9=Pra. iv. 33; ii. 12=B. r. iv. 60; ii. 14=Pra. iv. 21; ii. 15=Pra. iv. 23; ii. 17=Pra. iv. 25; ii. 18=Ana. iv. 33; ii. 19=Ana. iv. 46; ii. 20=Ana. iv. 49; ii. 21=Ana. iv. 55; ii. 27=Vi. ii. 36; iii. 12=Pra. v. 15; iii. 15=B. r. vi. 34; iii. 18=B. r. vi. 36; iii. 28=Ana. iv. 3; iii. 29=Pra. v. 18; iii. 32=U. R.*; iii. 60=Ana. v. 7; iii. 61=Pra. v. 43; iii. 69=Pra. v. 45; iii. 71=Pra. v. 39; iv. 4=Ram. iii. 72. 25; iv. 5=H.; iv. 22=Pra. vi. 1; iv. 27=U. i. 38; iv. 41=Ana. v. 17; iv. 42=Ram. iii. 72. 25; iv. 43=H.; iv. 47=P.; v. 47=Ram. iii. 56-7; v. 52=Ram. v. 31. 2; v. 53=Ram. v. 31. 3; v. 54=Ram. v. 31. 10; v. 55=Ram. v. 30. 6; v. 56=Ram. v. 32. 9-10; v. 66=iii. 28=Ana. iv. 3; v. 88=Ram. v. 48. 6; v. 89=Ram. v. 49. 3; v. 100=Pra. vi. 49.; vi. 47=Pra. vii. 7; vi. 71=Pra. vii. 12; viii. 2=Ana. vi. 16; ix. 12=Pra. vii. 20; ix. 17=Ana. vi. 75; ix. 46=B. r. viii. 82; ix. 47=B. r. viii. 83; ix. 60=Pra. vii. 37; ix. 61=Pra. vii. 27; ix. 70=Pra. vii. 31; ix. 75=B. r. ix. 18; ix. 77=B. r. ix. 19; ix. 79=B. r. ix. 21; ix. 80=B. r. ix. 31; ix. 82=B. r. vii. 88; ix. 85=Ana. vi. 56; ix. 87=B. r. ix. 39; ix. 88=B. r. ix. 41; ix. 92=B. r. ix. 59; ix. 93=B. r. ix. 58; ix. 107=B. r. x. 20; ix. 132=R. xiv. 83; ix. 133=U. ii. 10; ix. 134=U. ii. 7.

*The Sáhitya Darpaṇa quotes it from the U. R. as we will see by and by.

11. More protracted labour by more than one individual is sure to shew much better results. And if to this be added the fact that many Rāmaic dramas are known to us only by name* and probably as many not even by name, there will be few who will doubt the reasonableness of my conclusion that Madhusūdana Miśra's work is to a very great extent a mere compilation. Some may still ask—and indeed such a question was asked me sometime ago by a Pandit in the interior of Rānigunj—what is there to establish that Madhusūdana Miśra has borrowed from these plays and not the authors of these plays from the so-called Hanumannāṭaka? I think the answer is very simple. Individuality of style is clearly visible in every one of the printed Rāmaic plays and the absence of it is clearly patent in Madhusūdana Miśra's compilation. I leave this to every honest unprejudiced careful reader to judge for himself.

12. It follows from this that this play was written not simply after the Prasanna Rāghava—the last of the Rāmaic plays I will consider at some length, but after it came to be forgotten in the country where it was written, or else the compiler would not have ventured to steal without acknowledgement. And as I cannot assign to the Prasanna Rāghava an age anterior to the first half of the 13th. century,† I cannot place the Hanumannāṭaka before the second half of the 14th century. My guess is borne out by the fact that it is not mentioned in any of the old rhetorical works—the Daśarūpa—the Sarasvatī Kaṇṭhābharana—the Kāvya Prakāsha—the Sāhitya Darpaṇa and what is more so far as I have been able

*The following Rāmaic plays are mentioned in the Sāhitya Darpaṇa: (1) Udātta Rāghava; (2) Jānakī Rāghava; (3) Kṛtyārāvaṇa; (4) Rāmābhīnanda; (5) Rāmābhyudaya; (6) Rāghavānanda; (7) Rāghava Vilāsa; (8) Chhalita Rāma; (9) Kuṇḍa Mālā; (10) Anargha Rāghava. I will speak of them by and by.

Of later plays Wilson mentions Abhirāmamaṇi by Sundara Miśra probably written in 1599 A. D. (H. T. vol. II. p. 395); and Dr. Fitz Edward Hall mentions Amogha Rāghava and (?) Mahāvīrānanda. But Hall is not a writer to be trusted.

†See page 10. (Pages 8 and 9 of this edition)

to see, not a single verse has been cited from the Prasanna Rāghava in any of these works,* whereas I have shewn the Hanumannāṭaka owes a good deal to it.

13. There is only one apparent contradiction. The last line of Hall's Daśarūpa p. 61 contains these words: यथा हनुमन्नाटके. But the verse cited occurs in an older work—the Bāla Rāmāyaṇa, being iv. 60. and there can be no doubt that some copyist added हनुमन्नाटके to shew his learning. Hall admits that "some of the manuscripts are much more communicative than others about indications of their sources."† I wish he had classified his manuscripts and mentioned in each case what manuscripts indicate the sources of the citations,‡ for it would have shewn that the words "हनुमन्नाटके" does not occur in every manuscript.

14. Besides this, I think it fair to state that I find some other verses in the Daśarūpa which are in the printed Mahānāṭaka. For instance, the first verses on pages 73, 112, and 141 and the second verse on page 149 of the Daśarūpa are respectively Ma. n. iii. 50, iii. 32., iii. 14, and iii. 73. But the source of none of these is indicated by any commentator and the style of most, if not all, of these agrees with that of the Udātta Rāghava and in the presence of other evidence, I cannot help presuming that they are taken either from it or from some other similar play.§

15. At the same time, I am of opinion that the Mahā-

*Hall says (preface to his Daśarūpa, p. 36 footnote) throwing the responsibility on "an intelligent Pandit" that a verse from the Pra. is cited in the D. I do not find it in my Pra.

†Page 35, footnote.

‡Hall also says "I have succeeded after much search, in verifying the greater part of them." Instead of this simple statement, if he had specifically indicated the sources, he would have lightened the labours of others.

§So in the case of citations in other old rhetorical works—which are apparently from the Mahānāṭaka. If they are drawn from this play, the Sāhitya Darpaṇa at least would have given its name. It may be asked why then does it not indicate the real sources? I answer because the original plays were probably rare even in his days and the author took the examples from older rhetorical works.

nāṭaka is much earlier than the 16th century, as there are distinct notices of it in some manuscripts of that century.

16. Next in order of precedence, in my opinion, is Jayadeva's *Prasanna Rāghava*.* If my memory does not deceive me, Mr. Rajani Kānta Gupta, in his *Jayadeva Charita*, excellent alike for its matter and language, identifies him to be the Jayadeva of *Gīta Govinda*. I am, however, sorry I cannot agree in his conclusion. In the last verse of his songs, Jayadeva Gosvāmī says he is the son of Bhojadeva and Vāmādevī. From the introduction of the *Prasanna Rāghava* (l. 14.), we learn that the dramatist Jayadeva was the son of Mahādeva. We all know that Jayadeva Gosvāmī was a native of Kenduli or Kenduvilva. A fair, introduced by Rādhā Raman Brajavāsī, is still held in his honour, in his native village on the last day of the Hindu year.† From the introduction of his play, we learn that the dramatist was a native of Kuṇḍiṇa‡ and such a name is unknown in Kenduli and its neighbourhood. We all know that Jayadeva Gosvāmī was a devout lover of Kṛṣṇa. The introduction of the *Prasanna Rāghava* tells us that the play was acted in a festival of Śankara—a rival deity. The fourth verse of the *Gīta Govinda* shews that Jayadeva was fond of purity of language. The 20th verse of the *Prasanna Rāghava* tells us that the dramatist preferred a mixed style. The songs of Jayadeva Gosvāmī disclose an ardent admiration for, if not chivalrous adoration of, women. There is nothing in the *Prasanna Rāghava* to shew that the author had more

*This has been edited by Vidyāsāgara Jivānanda Bhaṭṭācārya, B.A. But it is a most careless edition. Not to say of the typographical errors in which it abounds, the editor has not always taken care to see which are verses and which are not. The concluding words of the verse iv. 8, which the editor says is not found in any manuscript, is the first line of page 78 of his edition. The first verse of the sixth act, beginning with सौमित्रे ननु सेव्यतां and ending with चन्द्रानने जानकि, is printed as prose.

†The Hindu year, according to some, ends in Pous and according to others in Chait. The fair begins on the last day of Pous and is attended by a great concourse of people.

‡कवीन्द्रः कौण्डिण्यः स तव जयदेवः श्रवणयो-
रयासीदातिथ्यं न किमिह महादेवतनयः ॥

regard for women than the generality of his countrymen. But perhaps the best proof is to be found in the fact that on my recent visit to Kenduli on the 27th November last, I did not find a single resident who knows the name of Prasanna Rághava, not so say that it is a work of Jayadeva.* I admit that the most lamentable decline of Sanskrit learning is now visible everywhere in Bengal and Kenduli has not escaped the fate of her sisters. But the richly-endowed Brajavásis, venerating the name of Jayadeva Gosvámí and celebrating his actions every now and then, would have preserved this play, if it was really his work.

17. The 22nd verse of this play is

यस्याश्चोरश्चिकुरनिकरः कर्णपूरो मयूरो
भासो हासः कविकुलगुरुः कालिदासो विलासः ।
हर्षो हर्षो हृदयवसतिः पञ्चबाणस्तु बाणः
केषां नैषा कथय कविताकामिनी कौतुकाय ॥

We know more or less of all these poets. Chora is the author of some amorous stanzas called Chaura-panchásiká to which the Bengali Vidyásundara is not a little indebted. Mayúra-bhaṭṭa's Súryaśataka is well known. Bhása was a celebrated dramatist. The Śríharshacharita has 'सूत्रधारकृतारम्भैर्नाटकैर्बहुभूमिकैः । सप्तार्कैर्यशो लेभे भासो देवकुलैरिव ॥' Kálidása requires no explanation. It is doubtful which Harsha is intended. But I believe the author of the Naishadha Charita is here alluded to. Báṇa is the author of Kádambarí. The mention of these names shews that the author of the Prasanna Rághava succeeded them, but it does not fix his age. But the fact already mentioned that the name is not to be found in the Sáhitya Darpaṇa and no quotation is made from it clearly

*I should express my thanks here to Mr. Radhika Banurjea and Troy-lucko Goswami of Kenduli for the readiness with which they furnished me all information about their Jayadeva. I may add that the Pandits of Jamgorh and Malandighi in the Sub-division Ranigunj within a short distance from Kenduli, also know nothing about Pra., although a few of them possess a great number of manuscripts.

†It is given in Jivánanda Vidyáságara's Kávyasaṁgraha and has also been edited with scholia by Bohlen.

shews, in my opinion, its posterior date. The author of the *Sāhitya Darpaṇa* was reputedly a fellow-countryman of the author of the *Prasanna Rāghava* and has nicely shewn in his work his vast acquaintance with Sanskrit dramatic literature and I cannot suppose he would have omitted the name of this play, if it existed in his time. The age of the *Sāhitya Darpaṇa*, as I will presently shew, as very probably the last half of the 12th century and the first half of the 13th century is, therefore, not an unreasonable date for this play. I cannot place it much later, as numerous quotations from it occur in the *Mahānāṭaka*.

18. The consideration of the age of these plays is mixed up with the consideration of the age of the four rhetorical works I have named and I cannot help entering into a perhaps tedious, but I hope not barren, discussion. The *Sāhitya Darpaṇa** of Viśvanātha Kavirāja evidently occupies the lowest place among them. It is indebted much to the *Daśarūpa* and in one place (p. 139) distinctly mentions the fact "एतच्च धनिकमतानुसारेणोक्तम्।"† It quotes a couplet from the *Sarasvatī Kaṇṭhābharana*‡ (p. 255) and although it does

*Published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal and also by Bhuvana Chandra Vasāka. The first is not a very careful and the second a very miserable edition. Looking at the same mistakes in the "list of authors cited," I cannot help observing that the latter has without the slightest acknowledgment appropriated the labours of the former. अभिनवगुप्तपादाः means 'the venerable *Abhinavagupta*' and some confusion is likely to arise by printing the whole as a name. मुनिः and मुनीन्द्रः are not names at all. They simply mean 'the sage', 'the great sage' and evidently refer to Bharata, the father of Dramaturgy. Kālidāsa also calls him simply मुनिः in "न तामभिकुडो मुनिः," V. iii. So व्यक्तिविवेककारः and श्रीमल्लोचनकारः are not names but simply mean "the author of the *Vyaktiviveka*" and "the respected author of the *Lochana*" and refer to Mahimabhaṭṭa and Abhinavagupta respectively. ध्वनिकारः is a similar expression but living at a great distance from the centres of learning, I cannot now say who is this author. "श्रोत्रियजरन्मीमांसकादीनां" has been used in the text as a general expression and does not mean any name or description of a name.

†The Prakṛita verse at page 51 is mentioned in the *Daśarūpa* (p. 91) as Dhanika's own.

भोजस्त्वाह "समस्तपञ्चषपदामोजःकान्तिसमन्विताम् ।
मधुरां सुकुमाराञ्च पाञ्चालीं कवयो विदुः ॥"

not directly mention the *Kávyaprakásha*, there is abundant internal evidence to shew that Vishvanátha was acquainted with it. For instance, at page 150-1 of the *Kávyaprakásha*, occurs the passage "चापाचार्यस्त्रिपुरविजयी कार्तिकेयो विजेयः" अत्र विजेय इति कृत्यप्रत्ययः क्तप्रत्ययार्थेऽवाचकः and at page 213 of the *Darpaṇa*, occurs the passage "वर्ण्यते किं महासेनो विजेयो यस्य तारकः" अत्र विजेय इति कृत्यप्रत्ययः क्तप्रत्ययार्थेऽवाचकः. The careful student will find many such coincidences and they cannot be set down to mere accident. There is another important fact to be remembered that both Mammata Bhaṭṭa and Vishvanátha Kavirāja speak in very respectful terms of Abhinava Gupta. The language used by the former (श्रीमदाचार्याभिनवगुप्तपादाः, p. 50) leaves little doubt in my mind that he was a pupil of Abhinava Gupta. The language used by the latter (अभिनवगुप्तपादैः, p. 141; श्रीमल्लोचनकाराः, p. 97) I think, goes to shew that either he or his father was a pupil of that rhetorician.

19. I am, therefore, of opinion that the *Sáhitya Darpaṇa* was written soon after the *Kávyaprakásha* and its exact age will be determined if it is remembered that it succeeded the *Naishadha Charita* but did not succeed the *Gíta Govinda*. The first point is clear from its mentioning *Naishadha* by name (p. 208) and the second from its not quoting from the latter. The verse III. 11. of the *Gí.* does indeed occur in the printed *Sáhitya Darpaṇa* (p. 289), but it has apparently been inserted by some copyist, as the large paragraph following it does not make any use of this verse, but of the verse preceding it. If it had really been quoted from the *Gíta Govinda* the name would have been mentioned at least once in the body of the work.

20. The *Naishadha Charita* was written at Benares in the second half of the twelfth century. So says Rájashekhara in his *Prabandha Kosha*—a work of the 14th century* and his statement appears to me to be perfectly correct. There are indeed writers who consider it to be of the same age as the *Veṇisaṁhára*, but not on sufficient evidence. The fact that the latter is quoted in all the four rhetorical works I have

*See Ram Das Sen's "*Śriharsha*".

named fully shews that it preceded all of them and is a work of about the first half of the 10th century. The fact that the Naishadha is not quoted in any of these works and is only mentioned by name in the Sáhitya Darpaṇa clearly shews that it succeeded the first three of them and did not precede the last by a long interval. It cannot be said that these writers had any prejudice against it as the work from internal evidence appears to have been well received from the beginning and later rhetorical works, e.g., the Kuvalayánanda* quotes much from it.†

21. Lakshmaṇa Sena reigned in Bengal towards the close of the 12th century and it has been ascertained that Jayadeva Gosvámí belonged to his Court. I, therefore, come to the conclusion that the Sáhitya Darpaṇa was written towards the close of the 12th century.

22. Negative evidence about the age of the Sáhitya Darpaṇa so far as my present knowledge goes is not very precise. But I may say that the Náṭaka Chandriká of Śrírúpa Gosvámí—a work of the first half of the 16th century, specifically names it.

नातीवसङ्गतत्वाद्भूतमुनेर्मतविरोधाच्च ।

साहित्यदर्पणीया न गृहीताः प्रक्रियाः प्रायः ॥

23. The Kávyaprakásha of Mammaṭa Bhaṭṭa preceded the Naishadha Charita and therefore belongs to the first half of the 12th century. I cannot assign it an earlier date as from the verse . . . भोजनपतेस्तत्यागलीलायितं quoted at p. 318, it is evident that it was written after the time of that munificent king who reigned in Malwa in the first half of the 11th. century.

*Edited by Vidyáságara Jivánanda Bhaṭṭácharya, B.A.

†The Kshitísavarṇasávalí Charita does indeed say that a Śríharsha lived in the Court of Ádiśúra. But if the statement is correct, we must not mistake him to be the Śríharsha who wrote the Naishadha.

‡I quote on the faith of Mr. Ram Das Sen's Rahasya, part 1, p. 139.

§Edited by Pandit Mahesh Chandra Nyáyaratna. This is a good edition with an excellent preface. But the editor, in future editions, should clear up all the citations, i.e. give the sources and such particulars about them as one might verify at once.

†This is in harmony with a tradition current in Bengal.

Professor Mahesh Chandra Nyáyaratna has shewn that it was known to Mádhaváchárya and the work was therefore composed before the 14th. century.

24. The Sarasvatí Kanthábharaṇa purports to be written by king Bhoja himself. Whether this be true or not, there can be no doubt that it was written during his reign and is a work of the first half of the eleventh century. The opening verse of the first part of the Daśakumára Charita is quoted in it and those who doubt its genuineness will feel difficult to rebut this piece of important evidence.

25. The age of the Daśarúpa* is also indisputable. It is the work of Dhanika, son of Vishnu. He tells us that he belonged to the Court of king Munja, who reigned in the last half of the tenth century. This king had the title of बाक्ष्पतिराज or "the

*Edited by Dr. Fitz-Edward Hall : Calcutta: 1861-2. It is not a very bad edition, but his remarks on Horace Wilson are throughout uncharitable and very often undeserved. Wilson thought that the text and the commentary Avaloka were written by the same man and very justly. Both purport to be written by a son of Vishnu in the reign of Munja and if the commentary had been the work of a different son, there would have been some mention of or allusion to it. It is a well-known Hindu custom, that in poetry even proper names might be expressed by other expressions conveying the same meaning, if the metre required it. The real name Dhanika did not fit the metre and Dhananjaya was therefore used in the last verse. Then we have tradition in favour of our contention. But Hall pays no attention to all these and considers there is internal evidence that Dhananjaya and Dhanika are different persons and accuses Wilson of "using together the Daśarúpa and its exposition". The internal evidence consists in his dissatisfaction of the meaning given to तुल्यसंविधानविशेषण in the gloss—which he considers means "marked by parity of transactions". We need not feel surprised at the meaning he gives to विशेषण, as there have been many other similar utterances by him (comp. e.g. the meaning he got out of समः बाणमयूरयोः and Nyáyaratna's pointed remarks in the preface to the Kávyaprakásha. Hall succeeded in seeing more Sanskrit plays than Wilson. But he is not satisfied with it. He adds "I have made no *special* search after Sanskrit plays." He must have been unexceptionally fortunate. There are other similar instances. Nor are his statements always correct. He says "the Hayagríva-vadha, mentioned by the author of the Kávyaprakásha, was left unnoticed (by the Sáhitya Darpaṇa). Neither statement is correct. I find no allusion to the Hayagríva-vadha in my copy of the Kávyaprakásha

king (who was) master of speech". (The same verse from the master of speech at page 184 is specifically ascribed to Munja at p. 186.) The comparative antiquity of this king may also be known from these verses about him quoted by Haláyudha in his *Mritasanjivani Chhandovritti**—a work of the last half of the twelfth century.†

ब्रह्मक्षत्रकुलीनः प्रलीनसामन्तचक्रनुतचरणः ।
 सकलसुकृतैकपुञ्जः श्रीमान्मुञ्जश्चिरञ्जयति ॥
 जयति भुवनैकवीरः सीरायुधतुलितविपुलबलविभवः ।
 अनवरतवित्तवितरणनिजितचम्पाधिपो मुञ्जः ॥
 स जयति वाक्पतिराजः सकलार्थिमनोरथैककल्पतरुः ।
 प्रत्यर्थीभूतपार्थिवलक्ष्मीहठहरणदुर्ललितः ॥

26. The *Anargha Rāghava** of Murari Miśra is noticed in the *Sāhitya Darpaṇa* and is therefore anterior to it. But as no quotation from it is to be found in the other three rhetorical works, it is not likely that it preceded the last of them. I, therefore, assign it to the first half of the twelfth century. Internal evidence, which I need not discuss here, will confirm this opinion. At the same time, I may add that Wilson notices a commentary on it written towards the close of the 13th century* and the play must have preceded it by a long time.

27. Quotations from the *Bālarāmāyaṇa*‡ occur even in the *Daśarūpa* and the work therefore existed in the 10th century. But we know from Mādhavāchārya's *Śankara Digjaya** that its author Rājashekhara was a contemporary of the reformer

and find it noticed in my copy of the *Sāhitya Darpaṇa*, page 97 "हयग्रीववधे हयग्रीवस्य जलक्रीडावर्णने." We have one original Sanskrit note by Hall (. . . इति कस्यचित् टिप्पणी, p. 111) and it is quite sufficient to shew his acquaintance with the language.

*Pandit Viśvanātha Śāstri's edition, pp. 48-9.

†Edited by Pandit Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara, B.A.

‡Hindu Theatre, vol II., p. 383.

¶Edited by Professor Govinda Deva Sastri.

*Printed at Bombay by Krishnaji Ganapatji. This should not be confounded with Ānandagiri's *Śankara Vijaya* published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

Śankarāchārya. As Mādhavāchārya himself belonged to the Deccan, it is not likely that he would make a mistake on this point and we can safely fix the seventh century as its probable date.

28. These are the Rāmaic plays that have been printed and are known to me by reading. Others existed, as we know from extracts in the Daśarūpa and the Sāhitya Darpaṇa, but they are probably gone with the fatal hand of time. To complete my account of these plays, I may here say what we know of them.

29. The Udātta Rāghava and the Chhalita Rāma are probably the best known and the oldest of this class of plays, quotations from both being found in the Daśarūpa. Māyurāja (?) was he author of the first play—which apparantly covered the same ground as Bhavabhūti's Vīracharita.* The following extracts from it to be found in the Sāhitya Darpaṇa and the Daśarūpa will give a clear idea of its style.

जीयन्ते जयितो निशान्ततिमिरव्रातैर्वियद्व्यापिभि-
भस्विन्तः सकला रवेरपि कराः कस्मादकस्मादमी ।
एते चोग्रकदन्धकण्ठरुधिरैराध्मायमानोदरा
मुञ्चन्त्याननकन्दराननमुचस्तीव्रान् खान् फेरवाः ॥ Sāh. p. 169.

रामो मूर्ध्नि निधाय कान्तनमगान्मालामिवान्नां गुरो-
स्तद्भक्त्या भरतेन राज्यमखिलं मात्रा सहैवोज्झितम् ।
तौ सुग्रीवविभीषणावनुगतौ नीतौ परां सम्पदं
प्रोत्सिक्ता दशकन्धरप्रभृतयो ध्वस्ताः समस्ता द्विषः ॥ Sāh. p. 130.

चित्रमायः । (ससम्भ्रमम्) भगवन् कुलपते रामभद्र परित्रायतां परित्रायताम् । (इत्या-
कुलतां नाटयति) ।

चित्रमायः । मृगरूपं परित्यज्य विधाय विकटं वपुः ।
नीयते रक्षसानेन लक्ष्मणो युधि संशयम् ॥

* "यथा छद्मना वालिवधो मायुराजेनोदात्तराघवे परित्यक्तः," Daśarūpa p. 123

रामः । वत्सस्याभयवारिधेः प्रतिभयं मन्ये कथं राक्षसात्
व्रस्तश्चैष मुनिविरोति मनसश्चास्त्येव मे सम्भ्रमः ।
मा हासीर्जनकात्मजामिति मुहुः स्नेहाद्गुर्याचते
न स्थातुं न च गन्तुमाकुलमतेर्मूढस्य मे निश्चयः ॥ Daś. p. 155-6.

राक्षसः । तावन्तस्ते महात्मानो निहताः केन राक्षसाः ।
येषां नायकतां यातास्त्रिशिरःखरदूषणाः ॥
द्वितीयः । गृहीतधनुषा रामहतकेन ।

द्वितीयः । अदृष्ट्वा कः प्रत्येति ? पश्य तावन्तोऽस्मद्वलस्य
सद्यश्छिन्नशिरःश्वभ्रमज्जत्कङ्कुलाकुलाः ।
कबन्धाः केवलं जातास्तालोत्ताला रणाङ्गणे ॥
प्रथमः । सखे यद्येवं तदहमेवंविधः किं करवाणि । Daś. p. 144.

30. The Chhalitrāma, as its title indicates, was on the later life of Rāma and was apparently a popular play. The following extracts from it are given in the Daśarūpa.

रामः । लक्ष्मण, तातवियुक्तामयोध्यां विमानस्थो नाहं प्रवेष्टुं शक्नोमि । तदवतीर्य गच्छामि ।

कोऽपि सिंहासनस्याधः स्थितः पादुकयोः पुरः ।
जटावानक्षमाली च चामरी च विराजते ॥ p. 166-7.

येनावृत्य मुखानि साम पठतामत्यन्तमायासितं
बाल्ये येन हृताक्षसूत्रवलयप्रत्यर्पणैः क्रीडितम् ।
युष्माकं हृदयं स एष विशिखैरापूरितांसस्थलो
मूर्च्छाघोरतमःप्रवेशविवशो बध्वा लवो नीयते ॥ p. 38

सीता । जाद कल्लं क्खु तुहोहि अजुज्झाए गन्तव्यम् । तर्हि सो रात्रा विणएण णमिदब्बो ।

लवः । अथ किमावाभ्यां रामोपजीविभ्यां भवितव्यम् ?

सीता । जाद सो क्खु तुह्माणं पिदा ।

लवः । किमावयो रघुपतिः पिता ।

सीता । (साशङ्क) मा अणधा संकधं ण क्खु तुह्माणं सअलाए ज्जेव पुहवीए त्ति ।

p. 198 and Daś. p. 120

31. The Kuṇḍamálá was also on the later history of Ráma and the following extracts from it are given in the Sáhitya Darpaṇa.

नेपथ्ये । इत इतोऽवतरत्वार्या ।

सूत्रधारः । कोऽयं खल्वार्याह्वाने सहायकं मे सम्पादयति । (विलोक्य) कण्टमतिकरुणं वर्तते ।

लङ्केश्वरस्य भवने सुचिरं स्थितेति
रामेण लोकपरिवादभयाकुलेन ।
निर्वासितां जनपदादपि गर्भगुर्वी
सीतां वनाय परिकर्षति लक्ष्मणोऽयम् ॥ p. 133
दिवि वा भुवि वा ममास्तु वासो
नरके वा नरकान्तक प्रकामम् ।
अवधीरितशारदारविन्दौ
चरणी ते मरणेऽपि चिन्तयामि ॥ p. 95

32. The Jánakí Rághava and the Rághavábhyudaya both appear to have been on the early history of Ráma and the following two extracts are given in the Sáhitya Darpaṇa from these two plays.

लीलागतैरपि तरङ्गयतो धरित्रीम्
आलोकनैर्नमयतो जगतां शिरांसि ।
तस्यानुमापयति काञ्चनकान्तिगौर-
कायस्य सूर्यतनयत्वमधृष्यताञ्च ॥ p. 155

लक्ष्मणः । समुद्राभ्यर्थनया गन्तुमुद्यतोऽसि किमेतत् । p. 187

33. I venture to guess that the following verse of the Mahánáṭaka (vi. 75) is connected with this dialogue and will be found in the Rághavábhyudaya, if the play is still extant.

याच्ञा दैन्यपराभवप्रणयिनी नेक्ष्वाकुभिः शिक्षिता
सेवासंवलितः कदा रघुकुले मौलौ निबद्धोऽञ्जलिः ।
तत् सर्वं विहितं, तथाप्युदधिना नैवोपरोधः कृतः
पाणिस्तं प्रति सम्प्रति प्रतिपदं स्पष्टुं धनुर्वाञ्छति ॥

34. At page 208, Viśvanátha Kavirája tells us that he is the author of the Rághava Vilása and some of the verses quoted in the Sáhitya Darpaṇa as the author's own, very likely belong to this play. But my knowledge in this respect, as well as about

the other similar plays mentioned in his Darpaṇa, is not at all definite.

35. In ascertaining the date of Bhavabhúti, I must confine to the plays that are fully known to us and their internal evidence clearly shews that Bhavabhúti preceded all of them and was the first to dramatize the life of Ráma. In his Vira Charita, there is not the least allusion to any previous dramatist in the same field. He simply refers to the great work* of Válmíki and the actor distinctly says that *his* play was new.†

36. The Bála Rámáyana, the oldest of the remaining plays, distinctly alluded to this fact in the following verse.

बभूव बल्मीकभवः कविः पुरा
ततः प्रपेदे भुवि भक्तमेदुताम् ? ।
स्थितः पुनर्यो भवभूतिरेखया
स वर्तते सम्प्रति राजशेखरः ॥ i. 16

The second line evidently alluded to Bhaṭṭi-Kávyā, but the reading is corrupt. The third line refers to Bhavabhúti and the fourth to the author of the play itself.

37. The Anargha Rághava and the Prasanna Rághava contain no such distinct allusion. But the authors of both of these plays admit that the life of Ráma was even then a hackneyed subject. The first says

अयन्तु प्राचेतसीयं कथावस्तु बहुभिः प्रणीतमपि प्रयुञ्जानो नापराध्यति श्रोत्रियपुत्रः ।
पश्य—

यदि क्षुण्णं पूर्वरिति जहति रामस्य चरितं
गुणैरेतावद्भिर्जगति पुनरन्यो जयति कः ।
स्वमात्मानं तत्तद्गुणगरिमगम्भीरमधुर-
स्फुरद्वाग्ब्रह्माणः कथमुपकरिष्यन्ति कवयः ॥ i. 9

The Second has

कथं पुनरमी कवयः सर्वे रामचन्द्रमेव वर्णयन्ति ।

*प्राचेतसो मुनिवृषा प्रथमः कवीनां
यत्पावनं रघुपतेः प्रणिनाय वृत्तम् ।
भक्तस्य तत्र समरंसत मेऽपि वाचः
तत्सुप्रसन्नमनसः कृतिनो भजन्ताम् ॥ i. 7

किन्तु अपूर्वत्वात् प्रबन्धस्य कथापदेशं समारम्भे ज्ञातुमिच्छन्ति ।

सूत्र ।

नायं कवीनां दोषः । यतः

स्वसूक्तीनां पात्रं रघुतिलकमेकं कलयतां

कवीनां को दोषः स तु गुणगणानामवगुणः ।

यदेतैर्निःशेषैरपरगुणलुब्धैरिव नग-

त्यसावेकश्चक्रे सततसुखसंवासवसतिः ॥ i. 12

38. All these plays are greatly indebted to Bhavabhúti's *Víra Charita*. I have shewn this in my *Jánakíráma Bháṣya* and would refer my readers to compare the passages quoted there with the language of Bhavabhúti. The author of the *Anargha Rághava* is most indebted to him. His style is founded on the style of Bhavabhúti and almost every page of his play shews his indebtedness to the father of Rámaic drama. Jayadeva's style is his own but his play is indebted to many writers especially to Kálidása, Rájashekhara, and Bhavabhúti. The entire fifth act is after the third act of Bhavabhúti's *Uttara Charita*.

39. The antiquity of Bhavabhúti's *Víra Charita* may also be inferred from the fact that he has confined himself to the characters mentioned in the *Rámáyana*, whereas his successors have been obliged to coin names to give novelty to their works. Máthura and Kohala, Paśumedhara and Saushkala, Núpuraka and Manjíraka are names not to be found in the work of Válmiki.

40. I am therefore convinced that Bhavabhúti preceeded all these writers. As we know from his *Málatí Mádhava* that he was not a popular writer in his time, more than 100 years must have elapsed before his plays spread to the farthest extremities of India and his reputation indissolubly tied with the immortal language of our ancestors. In the days of the *Bála Rámáyana*, he had already become a revered writer. It appears not only from the verse already quoted, but from its again introducing Bhavabhúti as a pupil in the beginning of the fourth act. I have already shewn that there is very good evidence to shew that this is a play of the seventh century. I cannot therefore place Bhavabhúti later than the fifth century A.D.

41. There are many apparent objections to this conclusion and I will consider them one by one.

42. First of all, the Bhoja Prabandha tells us that Bhavabhúti came from Benares* to the Court of Bhoja, nephew of Munja, king of Dhára. This would make him a writer of the eleventh century. Its absurdity will be apparent from the fact that quotations from *all* his plays are to be found not only in Bhoja Deva's Sarasvatí Kanthábharaṇa but in the Daśarúpa—expressly stated to be written by a courtier of Munja, predecessor of Bhoja.† But there are few scholars who deny the absolute worthlessness of the Bhoja Prabandha.‡ The very mention of Dhára would shew its recent birth and the mingling up of Kálidása, Mágha, and Mallinátha in one group is quite sufficient to shew its character, besides fixing its age. Dr. H. Kern is quite right in calling it a patchwork, but I do not see how “the motley character of the stanzas (quoted) enhances the value of the work,” even if the absurdities in which it abounds did not exist at all.

43. I should, however, remark that Bhoja is properly a family and not an individual name and it is not improbable that Bhavabhúti belonged to the Court of some Bhoja, although not the Great Bhoja—nephew of Munja. This will be clear from a careful study of the Raghuvamśa. In v. 39, Kálidása says “भोजेन दूतो रघवे विसृष्टः” “a messenger was despatched to Raghu by Bhoja.” In vii. 29, he speaks of the same king “भोजकुलप्रदीपः” “the light of the Bhoja race,” and in vii. 20, calls him “भोजपतिः,” “the Bhoja chief.” In vii. 1, he distinctly tells us that Indumatí was the sister of the king. In vii. 2, as also in vi. 59, he calls her “भोज्या” and to make it indisputably clear calls her “भोजकन्या” “the Bhoja princess” in vii. 35. Nobody can have any doubt from these passages that Kálidása calls the king Bhoja because he was the chief of the race. We are apt to suppose that the Sanskrit language does not possess the idioms current in living tongues, but minute examination will shew that such a notion is generally formed on insufficient data.

*“वाराणसीदेशादागतः कोऽपि भवभूतिर्नाम कविर्द्वारि तिष्ठतीति,” Bho. p. 74.

†“आविष्कृतं मुञ्जमहीशगोष्ठीवैदग्ध्यभाजा दशरूपमेतत् ॥” iv. 80

‡“भोजप्रबन्धस्य निःसारतया.....” Nyáyaratna's Kávyaprakásha, p. 22, footnote.

The following verse (186. 13) from the *Ādiparva* (Bombay edition) will shew that the name of a country has been used for its king—an idiom not quite uncommon in Sanskrit drama.

कलिङ्गस्ताम्रलिप्तश्च पत्तनाधिपतिस्तथा ।
मद्राजस्तथा शल्यः सहपुत्रो महारथः ॥

44. In the 8th story of the *Daśakumāracharita*, the author uses the expression “भोजवंशभूषणं” “*ornament of the Bhoja dynasty*” and Horace Wilson argues from it that the author flourished about or after the time of Bhoja. That he lived after some Bhojas is undeniable. But that he preceded the time of the *Sarasvatī Kaṇṭhābharana* is clear even from that book. If any one were to argue that Kālidāsa succeeded the Bhoja of the Bhoja Prabandha, I must remark that the name occurs even in the *Mahābhārata*: “अश्वत्थामा च भोजश्च सर्वशस्त्रभृतां वरौ” 1. 186. 6. I had marked a better passage to shew that it is a family name. But I regret I cannot find the passage now.

45. Next to the Bhoja Prabandha, the *Rājataranginī* makes Bhavabhūti a courtier of Yashovarman—king of Canouj. The 114th verse of the fourth Taranga runs thus

कविर्वाक्पतिराजश्रीभवभूत्यादिसेवितः ।
जितो ययौ यशोवर्मा तद्गुणस्तुतिवन्दिताम् ॥

46. This would make Bhavabhūti live in the 8th century. But there is nothing in the verse to shew that our Bhavabhūti is referred to in it. Secondly, the expression श्रीभवभूति before वाक्पतिराज clearly shews that this was, according to this authority, the title of Yashovarman’s Bhavabhūti, if he at all had a Bhavabhūti in his court. But we do not know either from Bhavabhūti’s writings or from independent evidence that Śrīkaṇṭha Bhavabhūti was ever known as Vākpatirāja, whereas we know from the *Daśarūpa* and the *Mṛita Sanjīvanī Chhandovritti* that this was the title of king Munja of Dhārā. This confusion is itself sufficient in my opinion to guard us from putting faith on such statements. But I may further say there is nothing in the writings of Bhavabhūti that he knew even the position of Canouj and the fact that his plays were acted before

Kāla Priyanātha (better known as Mahākāla) fully bears out the tradition that he belonged to the court of Ujjayinī.

47. European writers are apt to put implicit faith on Kālhaṇa. But I do not see anything in his language or matter to raise such faith specially when he speaks of other countries or their men and careful examination will shew that many of his statements are greatly exaggerated and some at least are incorrect, having been probably based on mere hearsay current in his country.

48. It remains only to consider the tradition which makes Bhavabhūti, Kālidāsa, and Amara Siṃha contemporaries and gems of the court of Vikramāditya. The verse about the nine gems in the Jyotirvidābharaṇa* does not indeed include Bhavabhūti, but tradition current in India not only supplies the omission but is big with stories about his jealousy and mortification at the renown of his rival poet. It however appears to me to be very clear from internal evidence that these three writers were not contemporaries and that Bhavabhūti succeeded Kālidāsa and very probably preceded Amar Siṃha.

49. A cursory glance at the plays of Bhavabhūti may indeed lead one to conclude that he was well versed in the Amar Kosha. In some cases, he has exhausted the synonyms given in that lexicon, as for instance, the synonyms for bone, saw, blood. In other cases, he has used a great many of the synonyms given there, as for instance, the synonyms for earth, water, monkey, slaughter, war. But deeper study will shew that he has used words which do not occur at all in that lexicon or in the sense in which he has used. I will specify ओङ्कार, उदर, ग्रावोच्चय, प्राग्भार, भिदा, सौहित्य. Other lexicons preceded the Amara Kosha and it is very probably that Bhavabhūti mastered all existing in his time. But that he was unacquainted with the Amara Kosha may be inferred from the above and also from

* धन्वन्तरिः क्षपणकोऽमरसिंहशङ्कु-
वैतालभट्टघटकपर्करकालिदासाः ।

ख्यातो वराहमिहिरो नृपतेः सभायां
रत्नानि वै वररुचिर्नव विक्रमस्य ॥

the fact that he has used words in genders not sanctioned by Amara Simha. In Vi. v. 39, Bhavabhúti uses कङ्काल in the neuter gender and I should think very properly. Amara restricts it to the masculine gender. In Vi. iii. 29, he uses चाप in the neuter gender in conformity with the rule of Páṇini. Amara gives it also the masculine gender.* I should have also liked to refer to his neuter use of क्षत्र in Vi. iv. 1 and the masculine use of नलक in Vi. v. 33, but I do not find these two words in Amara's book.

50. It may be said that this evidence is not sufficient to shew that Bhavabhúti preceded Amara. To satisfy such objectors, I should remark that even in the abundant use of synonymous terms, Bhavabhúti does not appear in a single instance to have committed the mistake of confounding accidental for real senses of words—instances of which confusion occur in the Amara Kosha and which it would have been difficult for him to overcome if he had been thoroughly versed in it.

51. This fact will also determine the comparative age of Kálidása and Amar Simha. Indeed the latter seems from his lexicon to have carefully studied the poems of the former, but either did not thoroughly examine the true sense of words used by Kálidása or did not think it proper to give their precise meaning. I give seven instances. Amara gives वाचयम as a synonym for मुनि. Kálidása always uses it in its proper sense. In R. viii. 26, Kálidása does indeed use और्ध्वदेहिकं as a substantive, but कृत्यं is evidently understood and all adjectives may be used as substantives in the neuter gender. Amara gives it a substantial meaning in the three genders. सोमोद्भवा simply means "moon-born" and in R.v. 59, Kálidása adds सरित् "river" to indicate the Jumna. Amara gives सोमोद्भवा itself as a name of the Jumna. शीर्षच्छेद्य means "deserving decapitation" and Kálidása's use of it in R. xv. 51 clearly shews that he knew

*There are many instances of Amara's differing from Páṇini. According to the latter, दिवस is only masculine. According to the former, it is also neuter. अग्नि is feminine and neuter according to Páṇini. It is only feminine according to Amara.

where to use it and what force it had. Amara groups it with वध्य, which simply means “*deserving of death*”. There is nothing in R. ix. 79 to lead one to infer that Kálidása has used दिष्टान्त in that verse in any other than its proper sense “*prescribed end*”. Amara includes it in his list of synonyms for death. In Ku. v. 39, Kálidása uses साप्तपदीन unmistakably in its proper sense, but Amara forgets its literal meaning and groups it with सख्य “*friendship*,” which may be formed in seven words but is never=it. But perhaps the best instance of his confusion is उद्गमनीय, which is an adjective and Kálidása uses it as an adjective in Ku. vii. 11, but Amara confounds it with the whole expression पत्युद्गमनीयवस्त्र and gives it the meaning of “*a suit of washed clothes*”.

52. This internal evidence indisputably shews that Kálidása preceded Amara Simha. I think similar evidence is not wanting to shew that he preceded also Bhavabhúti. The latter seems to have had in his mind the Śákuntala of Kálidása when he penned.

शाकुन्तलादीनितिहासवादान् प्रस्तावितानन्यपरैर्वचोभिः ।

श्रुत्वा मदुत्सङ्गनिवेशिताङ्गी चिराय चिन्तास्तिमितत्वमेति ॥ Ma. iii. 3.

So also when he wrote यच्च किल कौशिकी शकुन्तला दुष्मन्तम् अप्सराः पुरुषसं चकमे. . . . Ma. ii. Indeed this is a better instance for it will be seen on examination that the Mahábhárata does not and Kálidása does make Śákuntalá desire Dushmanta and it cannot be doubted notwithstanding what Bhavabhúti intended to convey, that he had in his mind the play of Kálidása only. The verse v. 20. of the Uttara Charita

मनोरथस्य यद्वीजं तद्वैवेनादितो हतम् ।

लतायां पूर्वलूनायां प्रसूनस्यागमः कुतः ॥

has some resemblance with the verse vii. 13 of the Śákuntala

मनोरथाय नाशंसे किं बाहो स्पन्दसे मुधा ।

पूर्वाविधीरितं श्रेयो दुःखं हि परिवर्तते ॥

and the last line of Ma. ii. 11

कटाक्षैर्नारीणां कुबलयितवातायनमिव ॥

cannot help reminding one of the last line of R. xi. 93

कुवलयितगवाक्षां लोचनैरङ्गनानाम् ॥

The ninth act of the *Málati Mádhava* and the fourth act of the *Vikramorvaśi* resemble so much in their plan that it is impossible to resist the conclusion that the first was based on the second, unless it can be shewn that both of them are based on older materials.

53. After this long discussion, I may say in a few words that so far as I can see Bhavabhúti preceded Amara Simha but succeeded Kálidása and that I cannot place him later than the fifth century A.D. The introduction of female Buddha ascetics in the *Málati Mádhava* without a word against them and the open reference in his other two plays to ancient Hindu rites most shocking to modern Hindu ideas fully confirm this view. The decline of the Buddha religion is traceable from the fifth century after Christ and Daṇḍin, in his *Daśakumára Charita*, does not hesitate to ridicule the sect. The other point requires extreme boldness from more modern writers—such as probably cannot be expected in them.

54. The age of Bhavabhúti being approximately settled, other particulars about his life may be gleaned from his plays. The introductions to the *Víra Charita* and the *Málati Mádhava* tell us that he belonged to Padmapura in Vidarbha (Berar) and was the grandson of Gopála Bhaṭṭa and son of Nílakaṇṭha and Játukarṇi and that his ancestors were all great Vedic scholars and claimed descent from the sage Káśyapa. The country of Vidarbha was in old days much celebrated for its scholars* and Bhavabhúti received his education in the hands of a very learned man, who, he says, was appropriately named abode of knowledge.† His education must have been continued for a great many years for his plays disclose his minute acquaintance with almost every branch of Sanskrit literature. His wonderful memory and vast erudition soon procured for him the title of Śríkaṇṭha or Minerva-throated—a title, so far as I know, not shared by anybody else and he soon removed

*सोज्यं सुभ्रु पुरो विदभंविषयः सारस्वतीजन्मभूः ॥ B. r. x. 74.

†यथार्थनामा भगवान् यस्य ज्ञाननिधिर्गुरुः, Vi. i. 5.

to the Court of Ujjayiní, where before the celebrated Mahákála all his plays were acted.*

55. Of these plays, the Vira Charita is evidently the oldest and the Málátí Mádhava the latest. In the first he gives a description of himself, but does not make any allusion to any of his works. The following verse of the second play shews that he was not pleased with the reception of his preceding works, clearly indicating that it succeeded them.

ये नाम केचिदिह नः प्रथयन्त्यवज्ञां
जानन्ति ते किमपि तान् प्रति नैष यत्नः ।
उत्पत्स्यतेऽस्ति मम कोऽपि समानजन्मा
कालो ह्ययं निरवधिर्विपुला च पृथ्वी ॥ Ma. i. 7

56. The Uttara Ráma Charita is a continuation of the Life of Ráma and the use of the word उत्तर unmistakably shews that it followed the Vira Charita. The author is quite satisfied with an exceedingly brief account of himself in the introduction, as he thought it unnecessary to repeat what he had said in the Vira Charita. That it was written between the Vira Charita and the Málátí Mádhava may be seen from the fact that its verses agree more with the verses of the Vira Charita and the Málátí Mádhava than the verses of the Vira Charita do with the verses of the Málátí Mádhava†.

57. The Vira Charita or "the Life of the Hero" is a play in seven acts, describing the adventures of Ráma up to his accession to the throne of Ayodhyá.‡ It purports to be and is founded on the first six books of the Rámáyana. The prelude tells us that the sage Vishvámitra has returned from Ayodhyá to his hermitage with Ráma and Lakshmaṇa, son of king Daśaratha—that he invited the king of Videha to his sacrifice—and that his brother Kuśadhwaja, with his two nieces Sítá

*See preface to my Vira Charita.

†See Para. 5

‡The characters of the play, as given by Wilson (H. T. Vol. II. p. 323) require some corrections. Kuśadhwaja was king of Sánkásya (and not Kaśi). Judhájit (not Juddhajit) was brother-in-law (not charioteer) of Daśaratha. Mályaván—Maternal grandfather of Rávaṇa. Sugriva, Váli's brother and successor.

and Urmilá, is coming to it. The first act then describes their arrival at the hermitage, where they meet the princes of Ayodhyá and Ráma and Lakshmaṇa fall in love with Sítá and Urmilá respectively. Meanwhile, Ahalyá, the cursed wife of Gautama—gets cleared of her guilt through the purifying influence of Ráma and a messenger comes from Rávaṇa to ask the hand of the earth-born princess.* Just then, a female fiend—Taraká—approaches and disturbs the meeting, but she is slain by Ráma. Vishvámitra is exceedingly pleased with the deed and invokes and gives to Ráma the yawn-producing (जृम्भक), better known as soporific (प्रस्वापन) weapons with all their secrets of discharge and dissolution. He also asks for the appearance of the divine bow of Śíva, to the breaker of which the hand of Sítá had been promised. It comes on an invocation and Ráma breaks it easily and gains his love. They are however again disturbed by the approach of the giants Subáhu and Márícha, the first of whom is killed and the second thrown at a distance by Ráma. The messenger of Rávaṇa then goes away mortified to represent the matter to the minister of Rávaṇa. This closes the first act.

58. It covers the ground of nearly the whole of the first book of the Rámáyana. But the poet describes the actions of some fifteen years, while the dramatist, to preserve the unity of time, has chosen one day to represent the principal doings of the period. He has, therefore, been obliged to differ in many points from the description of the Rámáyana. The invitation of the king of Videha and the coming of his brother to the sacrifice of Vishvámitra do not occur in the Rámáyana. The public meeting of Sítá and Ráma and their mutually falling in love is entirely the creation of the dramatist. The messenger from Rávaṇa has been introduced to make the plot more diversified and interesting. The other points occur in the Rámáyana, but not in the order of manner described by Bhavabhúti.

59. The second act opens with the reflections of Mályaván

*Sítá is said to be so named from her springing up from a furrow (सीता) while Janaka was making it with a plough.

—the minister of Rávana after the representation of the doings at the hermitage of Vishvámitra by the messenger to the Court of Videha. Rávana's sister Śúrpaṇakhá comes and tells him that the Princess of Videha had been married to Ráma. Mályaván takes this as an insult to Rávana and resolves to excite Jámadagnya against Ráma for breaking *his* teacher Śiva's bow. This closes the first scene. It is entirely the creation of Bhavabhúti. In the second scene, Jámadagnya is represented as having come to the capital of Videha and asking for Ráma, who is detained awhile by Sítá's fears but shews that he should and does meet his antagonist. After some conversation, which changes from gay to grave, and is interspersed with the entrance and conversation of the king of Videha and his family priest, they resolve to fight, Jámadagnya allowing Ráma to draw his bow first, saying "if I were to strike, what (you) will afterwards do—a headless trunk, the hard shoulder-band (neck) separated by (my) flashing-fire-emitting luminous axe." But the chamberlain enters and tells that the queens have met to unloosen the marriage-string of the bridegroom—a ceremony still current in India and Jámadagnya allows Ráma to get it done. This closes the second act. The story of Jámadagnya's meeting Ráma is drawn from the Rámáyana, but the incidents are Bhavabhúti's own.

60. In the third act, the sages Vaśiṣṭha and Vishvámitra dissuade Jámadagnya from fighting, but in vain. Śatánanda—the family priest of Janaka—is enraged and exclaims that nobody is able to assail the shadow of Janaka, much less his son-in-law. This raises most angry conversation between him and Jámadagnya, which is very interesting. Janaka and Daśaratha enter one after the other, (the latter had come to be present at his son's marriage) and they all join to terrify their foe. But Jámadagnya is not to be put down. Ráma returns from the string-removing ceremony and calls out and Jámadagnya goes to fight. This act is entirely the work of Bhavabhúti.

61. The fourth act announces the victory of Ráma Chandra over his antagonist. Mályaván enters with Śúrpaṇakhá in a

heavenly car and is alarmed at the success of Ráma and proposes to send her in the form of Manthará to sow dissensions in the family of Daśaratha. They discuss the political results of this scheme and eventually agree and go out. This closes the first scene. This, as already hinted, is the creation of the dramatist. In the second scene, Janaka and Daśaratha and Vaśiṣṭha and Vishvámitra embrace each other in the Hindu fashion and congratulate on the success of Ráma. Jámadagnya then comes with Ráma and is received very cordially. Vaśiṣṭha and Vishvámitra then leave the scene for the hermitage of the latter. This has a covert allusion to their previous contest described in the first book of the Rámáyana. Jámadagnya follows, but gives his bow to Ráma before his departure for killing the demons of the forest Daṇḍaka.

62. Śúrpaṇakhá, disguised as Manthará, then arrives and conveys to him the affections of his step-mother Kaikeyí and gives a letter containing two prayers, which he is asked to get satisfied from his father according to *his* former promise. The first of these was that her son Bharata was to get the kingdom and the other that Ráma was to go at once to Daṇḍaka and remain there for fourteen years and Sítá and Lakshmaṇa were alone to accompany him. Ráma is very much pleased with it as he will have to go where he intended to go and Śúrpaṇakhá departs. This ought to have been represented in a separate scene, but as some compensation it takes place at some distance from where the two kings are.

63. Bharata and his maternal uncle Judhájit then enter and ask Daśaratha to crown Rámabhadra. Daśaratha orders preparations to be made for the ceremony. But Ráma approaches and Lakshmaṇa expresses the prayers of Kaikeyí. Daśaratha is obliged to agree and Janaka is glad that Sítá will accompany her husband. Bharata asks and gets the golden shoes of Ráma to govern as their agent and Ráma sets out for the forest with his two companions. Daśaratha is half mad and is taken out by Bharata and Janaka.

64. This act corresponds with the second book of the Rámáyana, but the dramatist has been obliged to differ and

compress the matter so as to include it in one day. The Rámáyana makes Kaikeyí personally ask the boons in her own palace at the instigation and advice of her maid Manthará, but the dramatist has ascribed demoniac origin to the devilish act to free the fair queen from all blame. In the Rámáyana, the exile of Ráma takes place at Ayodhyá, Bhavabhúti finishes it at Mithilá. According to the Rámáyana, Bharata was absent at the time, having gone to stay with his maternal uncle whence he returned after the death of his father and then went to the Chitrakúṭa to bring back Ráma, but only got his shoes. Śríkaṇṭha does it up before Ráma's departure. The time, however, for these incidents is too long to be composed in one day and Bhavabhúti would have done better if he had omitted certain incidents or split it into two acts.

65. The first scene of the fifth act lies on the mount Malaya where the vulture-chief Jatáyu comes to visit his elder brother Sampáti. His march is described in grand but in the old exaggerated style and they converse about the progress of Ráma's journey and his stay at Panchavaṭí, and disfigurement of Rávaṇa's sister and slaughter of his forces in the forest Daṇḍaka. Sampáti is alarmed at these repeated insults to Rávaṇa and asks his brother to take care of Ráma and goes away to perform the daily duties in the ocean. Jatáyu flies up and notices Ráma pursuing a spotted deer—Lakshmaṇa following him—and Rávaṇa abducting Sítá in their absence. He reviles and goes to fight Ráma. This closes the scene.

66. The next scene lies over a considerable space of ground from the forest Janasthána to the mount Rishyamúka and on to the hermitage of Matanga and contains too many varying incidents. The dramatist evidently forgot that these were beyond one day's performance and the greatly shifting scene beyond dramatic representation. It may be naturally inferred from this that scenes were not much represented in old acting.

67. The scene opens with Lakshmaṇa's lamentation at the state of his brother on the loss of his wife. Ráma then enters and soliloquizes on his misfortune. They inform us of the fall of Jatáyu and proceed in search of Sítá towards the

part of Daṇḍaka inhabited by the headless fiend Kabandha. Near this place, they hear the cries of a female devotee and Rāma sends Lakshmaṇa for her assistance. They return and Lakshmaṇa informs us of Kabandha's death and the devotee gives Rāma a note from Rāvaṇa's brother Vibhīṣhaṇa praying for his refuge. The dramatist had already hinted in the previous act of Vibhīṣhaṇa's exile through the machinations of the minister and did well, against the usual practice of his class, to leave it to the readers to guess. Rāma asks Lakshmaṇa what reply is to be sent to (his) "dear friend—lord of Lanká" and Lakshmaṇa replies those words were sufficient.* She then tells them that the upper garment of Sítá had been received by Hanumán and others and they set off towards their residence Rishyamúka. In the way, Rāma performs a miracle by kicking away the skeleton of a giant.

68. Then the monkey-chieftain Váli enters, instigated by Mályaván to oppose Rāma. They meet and after the usual exchange of civilities, go out to fight and Váli is mortally wounded and brought in that state to the stage by his brother Sugríva and other monkey-chiefs. Váli makes over Sugríva to Rāma and tells the monkey-chiefs to acknowledge him as their leader. Rāma and Sugríva then bind themselves in eternal friendship in the presence of the sacrificial fire of Matanga. Váli then gives his followers some advice about the coming war with Rāvaṇa and is led away to die. This closes the act.

69. The first scene is the entire creation of Bhavabhúti. It was evidently written to make us acquainted with the progress of events, described in the first 56 chapters of the third book of the Rámáyana. The second scene is partially drawn from the remaining chapters of the third book and the entire fourth book of the Rámáyana, but our author has not followed it slavishly. Against it, Sugríva is represented as a faithful follower of his brother. His participation in the death of Váli is entirely omitted and Váli's conflict with Rāma is ascribed to

*Two promises were implied—first contraction of friendship and secondly bestowal of the kingdom of Lanká.

the instigation of Mályaván. The cause and time of Sugriva's friendship with Ráma and the manner in which it was brought about are differently represented in the Rámáyana and the meeting of Vibhíshana takes place long after.

70. The sixth act consists of three scenes. The first lies in the veranda of the minister's house,* the second in the upper story of the royal palace called Sarvatobhadra† "on all sides good," and the third in the sky above with the divine king Indra and the chorister Chitraratha, describing the battle between the forces of Ráma and Rávaṇa on the earth below. The second scene is not properly marked, but the act although corresponding with the fifth and nearly the whole of the sixth book of the Rámáyana, is free from the defects of the previous two acts I have already commented on. The incidents have been properly compressed and the scenes may be well represented.

71. The first scene opens with the soliloquy of Mályaván at the miscarriage of his schemes, when the burning of the town is announced from behind the stage. Trijaṭa comes and informs that Hanumán did this and slew a son of Rávaṇa. Mályaván then goes in to consider the despatch of spies.

72. In the second scene, Rávaṇa dwells on the beauty of Sítá when his queen Mandodarí comes and announces the approach of Ráma and the bridging of the ocean. Rávaṇa disbelieves her statement and says "all the mountains in the world would not fill a corner of the bed of the ocean." A general alarm then rises in the town and his general Prahasta comes and announces the siege of the town. Then Váli's son Angada comes as a messenger to Rávaṇa to tell him to give back Sítá and fall at the feet of Lakshmaṇa. Rávaṇa is enraged at the message and orders his chastisement. Angada makes a sharp reply and jumps out. A great alarm is raised and fall of Rákshasas is announced and Rávaṇa goes out to prepare for the battle.

73. The third scene describes the battle, which ends with

*तदेहि तावदभ्यन्तरं प्रविश्य प्रणिधिकार्यं विचारयामः, p. 226

†सामी क्वु संपदं सन्वतोभदे णाम अट्टालग्नं आरुहियचिट्ठदि, p. 225

the death of Rávana and his valiant son Meghanáda. The divine and magical weapons used in the battle and the bringing of a mountain by Hanumán for the restoration of Lakshmana are beyond theatrical representation and Bhavabhúti cannot be condemned for leaving this part to a dialogue between Indra and Chitraratha.

74. The scenes, as may be inferred, are the creation of the dramatist, but the principal facts are drawn from the Rámáyana. Bhavabhúti has however arranged them in his own way. The promiscuous war of all the chiefs of the two parties is not in the Rámáyana. According to it, the "serpent band" of Meghanáda tied both Ráma and Lakshmana. But Bhavabhúti says it was dispersed by the "eagle-king weapon" of Lakshmana. The reduction to ashes of the forces of Kumbhakarna by Ráma with a fire-weapon is not in the Rámáyana and the death of Meghanáda is brought about in a different way. There are other details in which the two accounts do not agree.

75. The last act opens with the lamentation of Lanká. Her sister Alaká* comes and consoles her. It is announced from behind the stage that the gods are cheering Sítá on her coming out pure from the fiery ordeal and the goddesses go out to see Ráma. This closes the first scene.

76. In the next scene, Vibhíshana enters with the divine car Pushpaka and announces the release of the captive nymphs. Ráma thanks Vibhíshana and they all get up the car and set out for Ayodhyá. They pass in succession the bridge of Ráma—the mount Malaya—the river Káverí—the outskirts of the Pampá—the forest Daṇḍaka—the high mount Śalya, to cross which the car gets up towards the heaven, whence they notice the white and the black peak and the charming-scented mount.† Here Ráma and his wife are congratulated and eulogised by a couple of Kinnaras sent by Kuvera. The car then descends towards the foot of the Himálaya where Vishvámitra made his penances and then goes towards Ayodhyá where he is met by his brothers and father's wives and by Vaśiṣṭha and his wife.

*Alaká is the capital of Kuvera, step-brother of Rávana.

†Mounts Kailása, Anjana, and Gandhamádana.

Vishvámitra soon after joins them and consecrates Ráma in the throne of his ancestors. This closes the act and the play.

77. This scene covers the ground of the last eight chapters of the sixth book of the Rámáyana. But Válmíki's account of Ráma's journey is simpler without the aerial flights of his followers. To enable my readers to compare the two accounts fully, I quote the material lines of the 108th chapter of the "book on war".

अनुज्ञातं तु रामेण तद्विमानं मनोजवम् ।
उत्पपात महामेघः श्वसनेनोद्धतो यथा ॥
पातयित्वा ततश्चक्षुः सर्वतो रघुनन्दनः ।
अब्रवीन्मैथिलीं सीतां रामः शशिनिभाननाम् ॥
कैलासशिखराकारे त्रिकूटशिखरे स्थिताम् ।
पश्य लङ्कां तु वैदेहि निर्मितां विश्वकर्मणा ॥
एषोऽसौ दृश्यते देवि समुद्रः सरितां पतिः ।
पौर्विको ज्ञातिरस्माकं येन सह्यं कृतं मम ॥
एष सेतुर्मया बद्धः सागरे मकरालये ।
तव हेतोर्विशालाक्षि कीर्तिरेषा भविष्यति ॥
पश्य सागरमक्षोभ्यं वैदेहि वरुणालयम् ।
अपारमिव गर्जन्तं शङ्खमीनुसमाकुलम् ॥
एतद्वेलावनं देवि तमालवनशोभितम् ।
हिन्तालतालगहनं नक्तमालसमाकुलम् ॥
एष तीरे समुद्रस्य स्कन्धावारो यशस्विनि ।
यत्र राक्षसराजोऽयमाजगाम विभीषणः ॥
एषा सा दृश्यते सीते किष्किन्धा चित्रकानना ।
सुग्रीवनगरी रम्या यत्र वाली हतो मया ॥
एतन्माल्यवतः शृङ्गं किष्किन्धाद्वारि भास्वरम् ।
चत्वारो वार्षिका मासा यत्र देव्युषिता मया ।
वीक्षस्व सुमहान् सीते सविद्युदिव तोयदः ।
ऋष्यमूको गिरिवरो धातुभिर्बहुभिर्वृतः ॥
एषा सा दृश्यते पम्पा नलिनी चित्रकानना ।
त्वया विहीनो यत्राहं तत् तद्वहु विलप्तवान् ॥
एषा सा पर्णशाला च दृश्यते चारुदर्शने ।
यतस्त्वं राक्षसेन्द्रेण रावणेन हता बलात् ॥
एषा गोदावरी रम्या प्रसन्नसलिला शुभा ।
अगस्त्यस्याश्रमश्चैव दृश्यते कदलीवृतः ॥

दृश्यतेऽयं च वैदेहि चित्रकूटः शिलोच्चयः ।
 यत्र मां कैकयीपुत्रः प्रसादयितुमागतः ॥
 एषा मन्दाकिनी पुण्या नदी सुविमलोदका ।
 पितुर्निर्वपणं यत्र मया मूलफलं कृतम् ॥
 एषा च यमुना रम्या दृश्यते चित्रकानना ।
 भरद्वाजाश्रमश्चैष प्रयागमभितः शिवः ॥
 इयं च दृश्यते सीते गङ्गा त्रिपथगामिनी ।
 शृङ्गवेरपुरं चैव गुहो यत्र सखा मम ॥
 इङ्गुदीमुलमेतच्च दृश्यते तनुमध्यमे ।
 एकरात्रोषिता यत्र तीर्त्वा भागीरथीं वयम् ॥
 एषा सा दृश्यते सीते राजधानी पितुर्मम ॥
 अयोध्या कुरु वैदेहि प्रणामं पुनरागता ॥
 ततस्ते वानरा सर्वे ससुग्रीवविभीषणाः ।
 उत्पत्योत्पत्य संहृष्टाः पुरीं तां ददृशुस्तदा ॥

78. Bhartrihari has followed Rámáyana literally. His account of Ráma's return-journey is contained in five good verses (xxii. 24 to 28). Kálidása appears to me to be the first poet to describe, in the 13th canto of his Raghuvamśa, the regular aerial march of the divine car. He distinctly says in one place

क्वचित् पथा सञ्चरते सुराणां क्वचिद्धनानां पततां क्वचिच्च ।
 यथाविधो मे मनसोभिलाषः प्रवर्तते पश्य तया विमानम् ॥

Bhavabhúti cannot therefore claim entire originality for his interesting description and although the higher flight of his car is in a grander strain, yet the ignorance of the geography of the *world* did not enable him to take such advantage of his position as he otherwise could.

79. Some of the later dramatists are, however, much indebted to Bhavabhúti in their descriptions of the return-journey of Ráma. The accounts in the Bála-Rámáyana and the Anargha Rághava read almost the same with more open and therefore unrefined display of mythologic lore and slight variations in the march of the "flowery" car. Jayadeva, however, describes the journey very briefly, as he was anxious to give novelty to his work and the works of his predecessors left very little new in that line. I do not mention Madhusúdana Miśra

as he altogether passes over the subject, simply mentioning the fact.

80. Historically, the play deserves our careful attention for the light it throws on several important questions. We are accustomed to look on Manu as our earliest law-giver and his code as the oldest in existence. But Bhavabhúti tells us that Vaśiṣṭha first saw the truths, which were afterwards illustrated by Manu and others.* That such was the opinion in the days of Bhavabhúti we can have no doubt and that it is the correct opinion may be seen by comparing the language of the code of Manu with the language of the code of Vaśiṣṭha. The latter is so simple and easy, even in the shape in which it now exists, that with the assurance of Bhavabhúti I can feel no hesitation in assigning it the first place among the *Dharma-Samhitás*, while the compilation of the popular code is admitted by every European scholar and will be patent to every careful reader.

81. The passage (Vi. iii 2.) in which it refers to the killing of a female calf for the reception of a guest is also very interesting. This is again alluded to in the fourth act of the Uttara Charita.† That beef-eating was prevalent in ancient India is probably well known to many. It is sanctioned by old codes and alluded to in many old books. Bhava Miśra describes its qualities in the following couplet

गोमांसन्तु गुरु स्निग्धं पित्तश्लेष्मविवर्द्धनम्
बृंहणं वातहृद्बल्यमपथ्यं पीनसप्रणुत् ।

and it may be fairly concluded that it would have had no place in his work unless occasionally recommended for the diet of patients.

82. But the interest of the passages in question lies not so much in noticing the custom of beef-eating as in shewing the slaughter of female calves also on such occasions. This, so far as I am aware, is not sanctioned by any *Dharma-Samhitá*. But, as I have elsewhere observed, Bhavabhúti appears to

*प्राग्धर्मस्य भवन्त एव परमद्रष्टार आसन्, गुरो-
लब्ध्वा ज्ञानमनेकधा प्रवचनैर्मन्वादयः प्राणयन् ॥

†श्रोत्रियायाम्यागताय वत्सतरीं महोक्षं वा महाजं वा निर्वपन्ति गृहमेधिनः ।

‡See the passage quoted in my note on Vi. iv. 25.

have drawn his account from the *Vaśiṣṭha Saṁhitá*, from which the word वत्सतरी seems to have been omitted by some copyist in deference to the current Hindu notions. For it cannot be supposed that he would have ventured to wound the feelings of his audience by alluding to customs which had no existence in his time and never existed before.

83. The play throws some light also on the condition of women. The Princesses of Videha publicly go to the hermitage of Vishvámitra. Sítá comes out with her attendants to dissuade Ráma from meeting Jámadagnya and makes a public entry with him on his return to Ayodhyá. The old queens come out to meet their children. Yet it must not be supposed that Hindu women of age enjoyed the same freedom of intercourse as their European sisters. As now, there used to be separate apartments for women. As now, women of age were not openly allowed to appear in public. As now, they were not admitted to an equality with men. The Princesses of Videha do not carry on conversation with the Princes of Ayodhyá. Sítá does not come out to pay her respects to the seniors, but her salute is announced from within (iv. 34 to 35). There is now more seclusion of Hindu women in towns. Even in villages some rich families keep their females just as in towns. But it will be blindness to admit that in the days of classical Sanskrit Hindu women of age could go about freely and mix freely with men.

84. Geographically, the play is interesting for giving us the precise position of the Malayáchala in the verse v. 3. Válmíki was ignorant even of the position of the Vindhya. He makes the baboons meet Sampátí on that mountain after they had proceeded to the south (iv. 56. 3.). The geography of the Puráṇas is as confused as possible. The accounts in the writings of Kálidása only shew that Malaya is on the south of India. But the mention of the Cáverí flowing by it leaves no doubt that it is the same as the modern Nilgiris—a conclusion that may be arrived at by other considerations. The Mádurá chain to the south of it appears, however, not to have been precisely known to Bhavabhúti and Kálidása as they both confounded it

with the Nilgiris, the former in Vi. vii. 11 and the latter in R. xi. 2, although it may be that the name was applied to both the chains.

85. Literally, the play has considerable merits. To students, it is a profitable study to learn the idioms of the language. To lexicographers, it is a fruitful source to know the history and uses of that most important class of words—the verbs or rather roots—for which they will vainly seek in the old popular vocabularies. Poetically, it has all the merits which I will speak of hereafter.

86. The picture, it presents of Bhavabhúti's education, is truly wonderful. Almost each act has been intended to shew his minute knowledge in some branch of literature. The first act begins with his Vedic knowledge and ends with a reference to the imprecations of the Atharvan. The second shews his deep knowledge of the legends of his country. The third contains an epitome of the Yoga philosophy, besides allusions to religio-legal treatises. The first part of the fourth act is all politics. The remaining portion of the work shews his minute knowledge of the Rámáyana, while his knowledge of even out-of-the-way subjects, such as Hindu anatomy, may be gathered from passages here and there. It no doubt shews only the special knowledge of a particular man, but it can be easily inferred that the education of the audience, before whom the play was acted, also covered the same surface in general, although it may not have reached the same depth.

87. As a play, however, it has several defects—some of which have been already commented on. The story of Ráma has not been properly compressed and in some of the acts, narration preponderates action. The characters have not been well drawn and the worst side of human character is altogether unrepresented. The style of extravagant hyperbole in which the poet occasionally indulges, although quite in harmony with the faith of our ancestors, is against modern taste. In this, he has often outstripped his original. The bow of Śiva, according to the Rámáyana, is brought by men to the arena of contest. Bhavabhúti makes it attend on invocation. The baboons of

Válmíki could seize wild elephants and ruffle the waters of deep lakes (Rám. i. 20 chap.). The monkeys of Bhavabhúti (v. 32.) could throw up mountains and drink up the waters of the ocean. In the Rámáyana, the vulture-chief Jaṭáyu flies and like a mountain opposes the car of Rávaṇa. In the Vira Charita, his flight defies clouds and disperses mountains (v. 1.)

88. The next play—the Uttara Ráma Charita—is a continuation of the story of Ráma down to his union with his sons Kuśa and Lava. Like the Vira Charita, it consists of seven acts. The introduction to the first act tells us that after a stay of a few days, Janaka has gone back to his country and Ráma has entered his dwelling house to console his wife for her father's absence. The act then opens with their conversation, when the sage Ashtāvakra comes in and delivers a message to Ráma from his spiritual advisers to satisfy the wishes of Sítá and please his people. This is intended to justify Sítá's exile and to prepare us for receiving it. Then the sage goes away and Lakshmaṇa enters and asks them to come out and see their early history drawn on the terrace of the palace. They move out and the different parts of the picture are shewn to Sítá in most beautiful language. When the eyes of Sítá turn on the 'yawn-producing' weapons, Ráma asks her to salute them so that they would attend also on her children. Much use of this is made in the later acts of the drama. Sítá then feels tired and lays her head on the arm of her husband and sleeps.

89. Then a messenger comes and whispers to him that people condemn his receiving back a queen abducted by a fiend. Ráma has no recourse. People must be satisfied. He orders his dear Sítá's exile and the messenger goes away to deliver the order to Lakshmaṇa. The admission of a messenger into a place where a queen was sleeping may be argued as indicative of the open character of such apartments and the poet to guard us against such mistakes, has specially used the epithet शुद्धान्तचारी to this messenger, which only shews that some old servants had free admission to inner chambers.

90. Ráma is overpowered with grief—withdraws his arm

to save from pollution the spotless body of his queen—and pours forth the following pathetic lamentation :

हन्त विपर्यस्तः सम्प्रति जीवलोकः । अद्य पर्यवसितं जीवितप्रयोजनं रामस्य । वृन्त्यमथुता
जीर्णारण्यं जगत्, असारः संसारः, कष्टप्रायं शरीरम् । अशरणोऽस्मि । किं करोमि । का गतिः ।
क्व गच्छामि । अथवा

दुःखसंवेदनायैव रामे चैतन्यमपितम् ।

मर्मोपधातिभिः प्राणैर्वज्रकीलायितं स्थिरैः ॥

हा अम्ब अरुन्धति ! हा भगवन्तौ वशिष्ठविश्वामित्रौ ! हा भगवन् पावक ! हा देवि भूतधात्रि !
हा तात जनक ! हा तात ! हा मातरः ! हा प्रियसख महाराज सुग्रीव ! हा सौम्य हनुमन् !
हा परमोपकारिन् लङ्काधिपते विभीषण ! हा सखि त्रिजटे ! दूषिताः स्थः, परिभूताः स्यः
रामहतकेन । अथवा को नामाहमेतेषामाह्वाने ।

ते हि मन्ये महात्मानः कृतघ्नेन दुरात्मना ।

मयागृहीतनामानः स्पृश्यन्त इव पाप्मना ॥

योऽहं

विश्वम्भरादुरसि निपत्य लब्धनिद्रामुन्मुच्य प्रियगृहिणीं गृहस्य शोभाम् ।

आतङ्कस्फुरितकठोरगर्भगुर्वीं क्रव्याद्भ्यो बलिमिव निर्धृणः क्षिपामि ॥

Then he takes up her feet and cries, when the announcement of the arrival of frightened Rishis makes him go out to send Śatrughna for their succour. The messenger Durmukha then enters and takes Sítá unsuspectingly to mount the chariot which is to lead her to exile and the act closes.

91. For the principal facts, such as the exile of Sítá and its cause, Bhavabhúti is indebted to the supplementary book of the Rámáyana. But the whole arrangement is his own and it will not be far from truth to say that the act is entirely his creation. It is not rich in action, but no part of it is improbable or incapable of dramatic representation.

92. The second act supposes an interval of twelve years. It has been remarked that this militates against dramatic probabilities. I cannot agree in this opinion as it involves no physical improbability and no hard and fast line can be drawn within which a dramatist is to confine his time. The act consists of two scenes lying in different parts of the forest Janas-thána. The first is entirely the creation of Bhavabhúti. The murder of Śambúka in the second scene is drawn from the Rámáyana.

93. In the first scene, Átreya, a pupil of Válmíki, meets

Vásantī—the goddess of the forest and tells her that she has come to learn the Vedas in the south, as Válmíki is occupied in bringing up the twin sons of Sítá and writing the life of Ráma. She also tells the demi-goddess that Ráma has begun the horse-sacrifice and is coming out for chastising the Śúdra Śambúka for performing penances against his caste. The scene dramatically makes us acquainted with intermediate facts, but is entirely wanting in action.

94. It is the popular belief, strengthened by the accounts of old translators, that the Rámáyana was written before the birth of Ráma. Its palpable absurdity must be most clear to every modern student. That the original Rámáyana, with all the additions, exaggerations, and probable interpolations of modern editions does not contain this absurdity, is known to every careful reader. That such was not the general opinion of old Hindus is apparent from the description of Bhavabhúti, who makes Válmíki write the Rámáyana about the time when the children of Ráma were grown up. The introduction of Átreya* is also interesting, but we must not form hasty conclusions from it. As her name indicates, she is the daughter of a Rishi and from the introductory stanzas,† her age appears to have been advanced at the time. Her open studies, therefore, do not at all shew that the education of women in the time of Bhavabhúti was either general or openly conducted.

95. In the second scene, Ráma enters sword in hand and strikes the guilty Śambúka, who is accordingly deified and returns and thanks his benefactor and tells him that Agastya is awaiting him and they all go out and the act closes. The infliction of the extreme penalty of death for the violation of a rule of caste indicates the unswerving sway of the Brahmins, but it is happy to think that Bhavabhúti describes the doings of a past age, not the practices of his time. The scene, as already said, lies in Janasthána—where Ráma passed many a

*i.e. daughter of Atri, not wife of Atri, as Wilson says. Such derivatives can never have the sense given by Wilson.

† सतां सद्भिः सङ्ग

happy day with his devoted wife and Bhavabhúti does not lose sight of it in indulging in half-descriptive half-pathetic style.

96. The third act opens with the entry of the rivers Tamasá and Muralá personified, from whom we learn that Sítá is coming to the forest to worship the sun. The next scene, which lies in Panchavaṭí,* is not rich in action but extremely pathetic and its interest would have been heightened if it had been somewhat condensed. Ráma faints with old remembrances and revives on the touch of Sítá. She is invisible even to demi-goddesses through the favour of the Bhágirathí and her lord vainly seeks for her possession. He at last goes away on the advice of his companion Vasantí and, the act closes. It has been remarked with reference to the conduct of Ráma that he is vastly superior to the hero of the Alcestis; "and in the delineation of a situation in some respects similar, the Hindu poet is equally superior to the Grecian" [Euripides].

97. The fourth act opens with a conversation between two pupils of Válmíki, from whom we learn that great preparations are made by the sage for receiving Vaśiṣṭha, Janaka, and other guests. I have already commented on the slaughter of kine on such occasions.

98. The next scene lies near a tree outside the hermitage of Válmíki† and begins with the meeting of Janaka and Kaushalyá, mother of Ráma. Their coming has given the boys a holiday and they are playing at some distance from the tree. Among them, Kaushalyá notices a boy with the features of her son, who is called in but whom they do not yet know to be a son of Ráma. Soon after, the horse of the sacrifice of Ráma comes near and he goes out with other boys to see the fun, while the elders go to see the host. The attendant soldiers cry out that Ráma is the only hero of the world. Lava—for such is the boy's name—cannot brook such vaunts and removes

*पंचवटीदंसनेन मं मन्दभाङ्गीं अनुबन्धन्ति, says Sítá. अनेन पञ्चवटीदर्शनेन. says Rama.

†जनक :.....सम्प्रत्याश्रमबहिर्बृक्षमूलमधितिष्ठति ।

the banner. Soldiers crowd upon him and Lava draws his bow. Thus ends the act.

99. Like the preceding act, this is also the entire creation of the poet. The going out of the sacrificial horse is indeed mentioned in the Rámáyana, but it is attended by Lakshmana and not guarded by an army commanded by his son and there is no subsequent contest between Lava and the guarding army. It has been said that Bhavabhúti is indebted to the Pátála-khaṇḍa of the Padma Purāṇa for this description. I cannot say this statement is strictly correct. But the story has received many engraftments and modifications and modern versions make Ráma and all his brothers fall in their fight with Kuśa and revive with the aid of Válmíki. It has evidently been borrowed from the Áśvamedha chapters of the Mahábhārata, where Arjuna falls in his fight with his son Babhruváhana and afterwards revives with the aid of the life-restoring gem of his wife Ulupi.

100. In the next act, Lakshmana's son Chandraketu—the general of the army—arrives surprised at the slaughter of his army and asks Lava to leave the incapable army and fight with himself. Lava obeys the call and after some conversation in which he ridicules* the powers of Ráma and infuriates his antagonist, they go out to fight. In the first scene of the next act, a couple of aerial spirits describes this contest. The discharge and repulsion of the divine weapons occur in the way described in the 16th canto of the Kirátárjuniya and the last canto of the Siśupálabadha, but are founded on an older original. The approach of Ráma puts an end to this contest.

101. The next scene opens with the entry of Ráma, followed by Lava and Chandraketu. Lava's elder brother Kuśa has heard of his fight and comes "to eradicate from the world the name of emperor". But Lava has become calm and asks his brother to pay respects to the hero of the Rámáyana.

*Wilson makes a curious mistake in confounding Indrasúnu (i.e. son of Indra) meaning Váli with Indrajit, son of Rávana in U. v. 35. His explanation on the point is not satisfactory and this itself would shew his mistake.

Ráma embraces both of them and is moved with their son-like touch. He notices in them the features of his wife. He knows that his children alone could possess the divine weapons. He recollects that his wife was left in that part of the forest and instinctively comes to the conclusion that they are his children. He wishes to ask their birth in a roundabout way, but before proceeding to the end, is asked to see his spiritual preceptor and the act closes with their exit. The scene is very interesting and effective.

102. In the last act, the desertion of Sítá is acted by nymphs on the banks of the Ganges before Ráma and other high guests invited by Válmíki. It is like the inter-play in the third act of Hamlet. Sítá, from behind the stage, cries out "the beasts of prey desire (to devour) me in the forest [left] alone and unprotected. I will throw myself into the Bhágirathí." The manager announces the fact and then she enters supported by Earth and Gangá, each carrying a baby in the lap. Gangá tells her of the birth of the twins and consoles her, but her mother Earth is greatly distressed with the conduct of Ráma. Gangá replies "who can close the door of fate?" But Earth says "has it been proper for the god Ráma? He disregarded the hand he pressed when a boy. He disregarded me and Janaka. He disregarded Fire, [who shewed her purity]. He disregarded her accompaniment [in the forest] and the children she was about to bring forth." But Gangá pacifies her and they agree to make over the children to Válmíki, when they become a little old. Earth then asks her daughter to come to the nether world, to which she agrees, and with their exit closes the play. Bhavabhúti may be said to have received some hint from the Rámáyana, but the inter-play is entirely his original work and is as effective and touching as it is grand and interesting.

103. At the close of the play, the lord of Sítá faints. Then the real Sítá enters with Arundhatí, the wife of Ráma's preceptor and touches and revives her husband. The people are satisfied of her purity and Ráma takes her back with the children. Here ends the drama. This description is however opposed

to the Rámáyana, where Sítá is not reunited to her husband but goes down to the nether world in the presence of the assembled populace. Bhavabhúti has done well in giving a happy end to his play.

104. The plot of this play, as will be seen from the above, is simple. Its incidents are few. Its characters are not varied. It cannot therefore rank among the greatest efforts of dramatic genius. But it certainly ranks among the best of its class. The subject is interesting. The language is attractive. The tone is throughout elevated. The characters are properly individualised. The parts have proper connection with each other and are subordinate to the main end of the play.

105. It is, however, improper to judge authors by the standard of other ages or other countries. We must not forget the surrounding circumstances—the society in which he lives—and the rules to which he is subject. If these be taken into consideration, Bhavabhúti will be found to rank among the greatest dramatists of the world. His creative powers are great. His imagination is sublime. His plays contain many brilliant thoughts and effective scenes. He has been unable to produce a Macbeth or a Faust, but we must not forget that he had to bow down to the rules of Bharata and to look up to the literature of a single country.

106. It is clear from the descriptions of Bhavabhúti that the mountain Prasravaṇa is a portion of the Eastern Gháts, being the hills at or near Polaveram, through which the Godávarí rushes into the plains. The Panchavatí lay to the north of the river not far from it. The Rishyamúka and the Pampá lie further east and I understand they are still known by the old names, although not shown in our maps.

107. The next play of Bhavabhúti—called Málátí Mádhava—consists of ten acts and is the work of his fertile imagination. He had, however, received some hints from the Śakuntalá and the Vikramorvaśí, of which I have already spoken. The first scene lies at Padmávatí, the position of which has not yet been fully ascertained or settled. In the beginning of the play, Wilson identifies it with Ujjayiní. In a footnote to the ninth

act, he says: "It is probable, however, that the situation of Padmávatí must be looked for more to the south, somewhere in the modern Aurangabad or Berar. It may be intended for the Padmanagara, the place of the poet's nativity, but none of the names of the rivers in its vicinity are traceable in modern maps."

108. I do not think Wilson has been happy even in his second guess. As we will presently see, the hero of the story comes from the capital of Vidarbha to Padmávatí the capital of a different king. It is, therefore neither in Vidarbha (the modern Berar) nor in Padmapura, which the poet expressly tells us to be in Vidarbha. From the closing passages of the fourth act,* I conclude that it was a town on the right bank of the Kali Sind, where it unites with the united streams of the Abu and Amjar. The poet again says in the ninth act

पद्मावतीविमलवारिविशालसिन्धु-
पारासरित्परिकरच्छलतो विभति ।

It will be readily admitted that the Sindhu is the modern Kali Sind. I think पारासरित् is more a descriptive than a proper name and refers to the combined stream of the Abu and Amjar. The poet, shortly after, speaks of the roaring falls of the Sindhu. It evidently refers to its flow through the Makundara range. If my inference be correct, Mádhava's wanderings are laid in the defiles and cliffs of that chain.†

109. The first scene is properly the introduction to the story. We learn from it that in the presence of a priestess Kámandakí and her pupil Saudáminí, Devaráta and Bhurivasu—ministers of the kings of Vidarbha and Padmávatí—promised to unite their children and that the former has sent his son Mádhava to learn metaphysics at Padmávatí and that the priestess is engaged to bring about by stealth his marriage with Bhurivasu's daughter Málatí, as the king wishes her to be bestowed on his own favourite Nandana. We also learn from it that the

*पारासिन्धुसम्भेदमवगाह्य नगरीमेव प्रविशावः ।

†Wilson places the scene of the ninth act in the Vindhya mountains, but without authority. There is no mention of it in the play.

young couple has seen each other and that Kalahansa, a servant of Mádhava, has become enamoured of Mandáriká a servant under the priestess. It also tells us that the temple of the terrible Chámuṇḍá, near the burning-ground of the town, is frequented at night by Kapálakuṇḍalá—a pupil of the fierce Sanyásí Aghoraghanta and that Saudáminí is performing great austerities on the Śríparvata.

110. In the next scene, Kalahansa enters with the picture of his master drawn by Málátí and which he got from Mandáriká. But he feels tired and reposes, when Mádhava's friend Makaranda and after him Mádhava enter the scene and the latter declares to the first that he saw Málátí near the Temple of Cupid and has become a victim to her glances. Kalahansa then approaches and gives the picture drawn by Málátí. Mádhava draws by it Málátí's picture and writes a love-stanza. Mandáriká suddenly enters and takes back the picture.

111. From the first scene of the next act, we learn that the king demanded Málátí for his favourite and was told in reply "your majesty has every control over your daughter.*" This is used in a double sense:—"Your minister's daughter is your own daughter and you can dispose of her as you please" and "you can dispose of *your own* daughters as you please, (but not my daughter)." I think proper to add this explanation as I have not seen it clearly explained by anybody and Wilson makes a gross mistake in translating the passage where this double meaning is alluded to.† The father's connivance at his daughter's stolen marriage would appear inconsistent if the reply is not understood in its double sense.

112. The priestess Kámandakí is pleased with the mutual attachment of the couple—expects the success of her plans—and informs Málátí of the parentage of her lover. This is done

*पहवदि णिअस्स कण्णअजणस्स महाराओ त्ति ।

†I say this on the supposition that his manuscript contains the same reading as my book "प्रभवति निजस्य कन्याजनस्य महाराज इत्युभयलोकाविरुद्ध-वचनमुपन्यस्तम्". But his translation is so palpably unmeaning that I, for my part, cannot believe that it has a different reading.

in the second scene. It is here that she alludes to the story of Vāsavadattā's marrying Udayana after her father bestowed her on Sanjaya. This does not occur in the printed Kathá Sarit Ságara. But the Kathá Sarit Ságara is only an abridgment of and not the same as the Brihat Kathá. "बृहत्कथायाः सारस्य संग्रहं रचयाम्यहम्" K.s. i. 3. The latter work I have not seen and does not appear to have been consulted by Colebrooke or Wilson, what Wilson calls Brihat Kathá being evidently the Kathá Sarit Ságara. I am, therefore, of opinion that to all probability, the story is drawn from the Brihat Kathá—the source of the story of Udayana.

113. In the third act, according to Kámandakī's arrangement, the lovers meet at the garden of Śiva. Meanwhile, it is announced that a tiger has broken loose and the life of Nandana's sister Madayantiká is in danger. Makaranda fights and kills the beast behind the stage, but is grievously wounded and lies insensible, supported by the frightened Madayantiká, who falls in love with her deliverer. Mádhava is alarmed and they go out to see. This closes the act. Bhavabhúti is indebted for his tiger-fight to the elephant-fight in the last scene of the second act of the Mrichchhakatika, but has improved on the original.

114. In the next act, Mádhava and Makaranda are found insensible, supported by Lavangiká and Madayantiká. Málátí and others sprinkle water on them and they recover from fainting. A messenger comes and tells Madayantiká that the king himself came to her brother and expressed the bestowal of Málátí. She goes away. Málátí and Mádhava are distressed. But the priestess tells them that she would try to unite them even at the cost of her life. Mádhava thinks that the only course left him was to sell his flesh to the goblins of the burning-ground and goes out with his friend to bathe in the Sindhu.

115. The scene of the fifth act lies near the Temple of the Chámuṇḍá noticed in the first act. Kapálakuṇḍalá enters and tells us that as directed by her preceptor, she must go and find out a good girl to offer as a sacrifice to the goddess. This

is the first scene. It is now nightfall. The burning-ground has assumed a most terrific appearance and Mádhave to offer his flesh to the goblins enters and describes the surrounding scene in the following verses.

अहो ! सम्प्रति प्रगल्भमानकौणपनिकायस्य महती श्मशानवाटस्य रौद्रता । अस्मिन् हि
पर्यन्तप्रतिरोधिमेदुरचयस्त्यानं चिताज्योतिषा-
मौज्ज्वल्यं परभागतः प्रकटयत्याभोगभीमं तमः ।
संसक्ताकुलकेलयः किलकिलाकोलाहलैः सम्मदा-
दुत्तालाः कटपूतनाप्रभृतयः सांराविणं कुर्वते ॥

(भवत्वाघोषयामि तावत्) भो भोः श्मशाननिकेतनाः कटपूतनाः !

अशस्त्रपूतमव्याजं पुरुषाङ्गोपकल्पितम् ।
विक्रीयते महामांसं गृह्यतां गृह्यतामिदम् ॥

कथमाघोषणानन्तरमेव सर्वतः समुच्चलदुत्तालवेतालमुक्ततुमुलाव्यक्तकलकलाकुलः प्रचलित
इवाविर्भवद्भूतसङ्घटः श्मशानवाटः । आश्चर्यम् !

कर्णाभ्यर्णविदीर्णसृक्कविकटव्यादानदीप्ताग्निभि-
दंष्ट्राकोटिविसङ्घटैरित इतो धावद्भूराकीर्यते ।
विद्युत्पुञ्जनिकाशकेशनयनभ्रूश्मश्रुजालैर्नभो
लक्ष्यालक्ष्यविशुष्कदीर्घवपुषामुल्कामुखानां मुखैः ॥

अपि च । एतत्पूतनचक्रमक्रमकृतग्रासार्द्धमुक्तैर्वृका-
नुत्पुष्णत्परितो नृमांसविघसैराघर्घरं क्रन्दतः ।
खर्जुरद्रुमदध्नजध्नमसितत्वङ्गद्विविधव्यक्तत-
स्नायुन्धिघनास्थिपञ्जरजरत्कङ्कालमालोक्यते ॥

(समन्तादवलोक्य विहस्य च) अहो प्रकारः पिशाचानाम् ! एते हि
ततपृथुरसनोग्रमास्यगतं दधति विदार्य विवर्णदीर्घदेहाः ।
ललदजगरघोरकोटराणां द्युतिमिव दग्धपुराणरोहिणानाम् ॥

(परिक्रम्य) हन्त ! बीभत्समेवाग्रे वर्तते ।

उत्कृत्योत्कृत्य कृत्ति प्रथममथ पृथूच्छोफभूयांसि मांसा-
न्यसस्फिक्पृष्ठपिण्डाद्यवयवसुलभान्युग्रपूतीनि जग्ध्वा ।
आर्तः पर्यस्तनेत्रः प्रकटितदशनः प्रेतरङ्कः करङ्का-
दङ्कस्थादस्थिसंस्थं स्थपुटगतमति क्रव्यमव्यग्रमत्ति ॥

अपि च । निष्ठापस्विद्यदस्थनः क्वथनपरिणमन्मेदसः प्रेतकायान्
कृष्ट्वा संसक्तधूमानपि कुणपभुजो भूयसीभ्यश्चिताभ्यः ।
उत्पक्वस्त्रंसिमासं प्रचलदुभयतः सन्धिनिर्मुक्तमारा-
देते निष्कुप्य जघानलकमुदयिनीर्मज्जधाराः पिबन्ति ।

(विहस्य) अहो ! प्रादोषिकः प्रमोदः पिशाचाङ्गनानाम् । तथाहि
अन्त्रैः कल्पितमङ्गलप्रतिसराः स्त्रीहस्तरक्तोत्पल-
व्यक्तोत्तंसभृतः पिनह्य सहसा हृत्पुण्डरीकस्रजः ।

एताः शोणितपङ्कुकुङ्कुमजुषः सम्भूय कान्तैः पिव-
न्त्यस्थिस्नेहसुराः कपालचषकैः प्रीताः पिशाचाङ्गनाः ॥

(परिक्रम्य "पुनरशस्त्र" इति पठित्वा) कथं द्रागतिप्रशान्तभीषणभीषिकाप्रकारैर्जटिल्यपकान्तं
पिशाचैः । अहो ! निःसत्त्वता पिशाचानाम् । (परिक्रम्य दृष्ट्वा सनिर्वेदम् ।) विचित्रश्चैव
समन्तात् श्मशानवाटः । तथाहि खल्वियं पुरत एव

गुञ्जत्कुञ्जकुटीरकौशिकघटाघूत्कारसंवलिगत-
क्रन्दत्फेरवचण्डडात्कृतिभृतप्राग्भारभीमैस्तटैः ।

अन्तःशीर्णकरङ्ककर्करपयःसंरोधकूलङ्कुष-
स्रोतोनिर्गमघोरघर्घररवा पारेश्मशानं सरित् ॥

116. The scene is very imposing. "Among his most impressive descriptions," says Elphinstone, is this "where his hero repairs at night to a field of tombs, scarcely lighted up by the flames of funeral fires, and evokes the demons of the place, whose appearance, filling the air with their shrill cries and unearthly forms, is painted in dark and powerful colours; while the solitude, the moaning of the winds, the hoarse sound of the brooke, the wailing owl, and the long-drawn howl of the jackal, which succeed on the sudden disappearance of the spirits, almost surpass in effect the presence of their supernatural terrors."*

117. To resume the story: Mádhava hears the cries of a girl and rushes into the interior of the temple, where Kapálakunḍalá and Aghoraghaṇṭa are making preparations to sacrifice Málátí. Mádhava finds that the girl is his love and puts her under his arms. Voices are heard of soldiers in search of Málátí. Mádhava puts her away and encounters the Sanyasí. This closes the last scene.

118. In the next act, we learn from Kapálakunḍalá that her preceptor has been slain by Mádhava and she vows vengeance against him. Preparations are now made for the marriage of Málátí with Nandana. But Kámandakí has contrived to unite Málátí with Mádhava in the temple of the town-god and to send his friend Makaranda to Nandana dressed in the marriage-clothing of Málátí. In accordance with this scheme, Mádhava and Makaranda come to that temple, where Málátí has been ordered to proceed with Kámandakí and Lavangiká to

*History of India, p. 167.

adore the god before her marriage with Nandana. Málátí and Makaranda are looking at the procession, where the females alight from their elephant and Kámandakí sends the other two to the interior of the temple, herself being engaged in examining the marriage-dress of Málátí which has just arrived. Mádhava and Makaranda hide themselves behind a post and Málátí expresses her wretched situation to her companion and wishes to commit suicide. She cries with eyes shut and Lavangiká beckons Mádhava to take her place. He does so and asks for an embrace. Málátí, when going to put her garland round her friend's neck, notices her mistake and turns back. Kámandakí enters and unites them before the god and tells them to go through the park and wait in the place selected for them. She then dresses Makaranda with Málátí's marriage-dress and goes out with him and Lavangiká.

119. From the introductions of the next act, we learn that Nandana has been irritated with Málátí—Makaranda for his rude treatment and has left him in his bedroom. He is found sleeping and Madayantiká, with a companion, comes and tries to bring him over. Makaranda then discovers himself to his love and they agree to go where Mádhava was with Málátí and escape by a back door.

120. In the eighth act, Mádhava hears of his friend's scuffle with soldiers and goes out to rescue him. There is delay in his return and she is going out to see when Kapálakuṇḍalá seizes the opportunity and carries her off. Mádhava and Makaranda return victorious, but are alarmed to miss Málátí and go to ask the priestess.

121. Mádhava is exceedingly distressed at the loss of Málátí and the next act describes his rambling on the adjacent hills. As I have already observed, this act is written after the fourth act of the *Vikramorvaśí*. But Pururavas rambles alone and gets back Urvaśí without the aid of a third party. Mádhava has his companion Makaranda with him and Málátí is restored to him by Saudámini, the former pupil of Kámandakí. Kálidása, if I mistake not, is indebted for his story to earlier writers. Bhavabhúti has made his out of his own brain.

In the descriptions, both are slightly indebted to earlier writers, as all must be who are read in the literature of their country.

122. The last act describes the distress of the priestess and Lavangiká, when Málatí is brought to them by her lover. The king is pleased with Mádhava and sends a message to him that Madayantiká is given to his friend. Málatí's father wanted to commit suicide, but is prevented by Saudáminí and the play ends with a very happy end.

123. This is decidedly the best of Bhavabhúti's plays. The story is entirely original, of general interest, and well suited for theatrical representation. Its incidents are varied and ably represented and some of them highly attractive. The characters are more diversified than in his other two plays and perhaps more ably drawn. The gentle, brave, loving Mádhava is easily distinguished from his devoted friend Makaranda. The fervency of the passion of the simple good-natured Málatí cannot be mistaken for the love of the more worldly Madayantiká. The central figure of the cautious Kámandakí, with good wishes and skilful hands, never bungles in her intrigue and the broad liberality of her pupil is well contrasted with the deep-rooted malignity of Kapálakuṇḍalá. Some parts of the drama require a belief in supernatural things, but this can be easily extended for the sake of the story.

124. Love is the characteristic sentiment of this play and it has been ably described. It is free, on the one hand, from what Hallam calls jarring conceits and, on the other, from obscene representations. There is only one passage in the beginning of the seventh act which may suggest obscene ideas and although carefully worded, Bhavabhúti would have done well if he had represented it differently. The mutual passions of Málatí and Mádhava, although as intense as possible, are however free from the least touch of obscenity and may be to some extent compared with the Platonic ideas of love. As Wilson said, the play removes a mistake about Hindu ideas of love.

125. The marriage dress of high-born females described in the sixth act is well worthy of our observation. It consisted of

a corset of white silk and a fine red upper garment, besides the usual lower dress, ornaments, and a chaplet of flowers. It has received several modifications since the days of Bhavabhúti.

126. The sacrifice of good-looking girls, alluded to in the fifth act, was common in his time and other authors allude to it. The seventh story of the *Daśakumára Charita* is just like it, when a prince rescues a princess from a similar Sanyási and afterwards marries her. It is to be hoped that these false ascetics no longer exist in any part of India.

127. It is easy to form from these plays some idea about the peculiarities of Bhavabhúti's style. They consist chiefly in the use of long compounds, high-sounding derivatives, and obscure terms. The first two were necessary to secure force, but the third is unquestionably a blemish. But this can be said in favour of Bhavabhúti that the use of obscure terms was occasionally forced on him for the sake of the big metres in which he wrote. The Vedic language in which he occasionally indulges cannot be commended. His partiality for the genitive, which seems to have increased with his age, is decidedly faulty. I have already spoken of his use of extravagant hyperboles and I may in fairness add that it has rendered a few passages repulsive to modern readers.

128. No other work of Bhavabhúti has come down to us. But these three plays have immortalized his name. It will be conceded by the most fastidious critic that their author, with all his faults, was a great poet with lofty genius excelling alike in moving the heart by depicting tender emotions and riveting attention by describing in noble language what is grand and terrific in nature. Many a reader has shed tears with the lamentations of Ráma. Many a lover must thank him for giving fitting expressions to his thoughts. Many a world-sick man will find consolation in the grand descriptions of nature. The glory of India has been for centuries under shade. Her literature has received most fierce attacks from most ruthless hands. But the name of Bhavabhúti has survived the ravages of time and the desecration of the moslem—More resplendent—more widely circulated. It is familiar to every student of

Sanskrit. It can die only with the death of that divine language and the languages which have imported from it.

129. English writers have always spoken well of our poet. Colebrooke thought highly of him.* Wilson admired his genius.† Elphinstone gives him the first place among the poets of India. "The best dramatic authors," says he, "are Kálidása and Bhavabhúti. The first excels in tenderness and delicacy and is full of highly poetical description. . . . The other great dramatist possesses all the same qualities in an equal degree, accompanied with a sublimity of description, a manly tone, and a high and even martial spirit, that is without example in any other Hindu poet that I have heard of."‡

130. To me, Sanskrit is dearer than any other language. Its music has charms which no words can express. Its capability of representing every form of human thought in most appropriate language is probably not rivalled, certainly not surpassed by any other language. Most touching scenes have been drawn in heart-rending words. Most noble images have been clothed in most sublime language. Most terrific pictures have been couched in terror-producing expressions. And among the foremost to elevate the language and enrich the literature of ancient India stands the name of our poet Vaśya-vák Káśyapa Bhaṭṭa Bhavabhúti Śríkaṇṭha. His plays have

*He calls the Málátí Mádhava "unrivalled drama". See his essay on Sanskrit and Prákrit Poetry.

†The following is the concluding passage of his "remarks on Málátí and Mádhava". "There is more passion in the thoughts of Bhavabhúti than in those of Kálidása, but less fancy. There are few of the elegant similitudes in which the latter is so rich, and there is more that is commonplace, and much that is strained and obscure. In none of his dramas does Bhavabhúti make any attempt at wit, and we have no character in either of his three dramas approaching the Vidúṣaka of either of the two preceding pieces. On the other hand, he expatiates more largely in the description of picturesque scenery and in the representation of human emotions and is perhaps entitled to even a higher place than his rival, as a poet." It is, however, I believe, universally true that the more deeply a man feels, the more prone he is to look at facts and the less able to humour or jest.

‡History of India. Fifth edition, p. 166

been all translated into English—two by more than one writer and it can be confidently predicted that before another hundred years, they will be rendered into almost every language of civilized Europe. May we hope that with the diffusion of Sanskrit, he will be as appreciated in the farthest corners of the world as he is on the banks of the Śiprá and near the ruins of Vijayanagara.

ADDENDA

Para 18. I have thought unnecessary to allude to the opinion of Horace Hayman Wilson as to the age of the Daśarupa and the Sarasvatī Kaṇṭhābharana. He imagined that the Ratnāvalī was a work of the 12th. century and was surprised to find quotation from it in the two works mentioned. But it was a mere assumption that the Ratnāvalī was a work of the 12th. century and the grounds on which he came to that conclusion have been very successfully assailed by Professor Mahesh Chandra Nyāyaratna in his preface to the Kāvya prakāśha. A later English writer has shewn that the Ratnāvalī is a work of the seventh century. The grounds on which this opinion is based are not fully convincing. But there can be no doubt that it preceeded the first-mentioned works.

Para 44. 2. I am glad I have found the passage clearly shewing the real sense of Bhoja.

यदोस्तु यादवा जातास्तुर्वसोर्यवनाः स्मृताः ।

द्रुह्योः सुतास्तु वै भोजा अनोस्तु म्लेच्छजातयः ॥

MAHABHARATA I. 83. 34. (*Roy's edition*)
and 85. 34. (*Bombay edition*).

Para 99. 3. The account of Lava's contest in the Pátāla Khaṇḍa of the Padma Purāṇa is too long to be quoted here. But the following extracts will shew the correctness of my contention.

The sacrificial horse had come to the hermitage of Vālmīki, guarded by Śatrughna and subordinate chiefs, when Lava went to gather fuel and

ददर्श तत्र यज्ञाश्वं स्वर्णपत्रेण चिह्नितम् ।

कुङ्कुमागुरुकस्तुरीदिव्यगन्धेन वासितम् ॥

विलोक्य जातकुतुको.....वाचयामास पत्रकम् ।

“रामचन्द्रो महाभागः सर्वशूरशिरोमणिः ।

करोति हयमेधं वै ब्राह्मणेन सुशिक्षितः ॥

मोचितस्तत्र बाहानां मुख्यो बलसुरक्षितः ।
 ये क्षत्रियाः क्षत्रियकन्यकायां जाताश्च ये क्षत्रकुलेषु सत्सु ।
 गृह्णन्तु ते तद्विपरीतदेहा नयन्तु राज्यं रघवे निवेद्य ॥”
 इति संवाच्य कुपितो लवः पत्रं धनुर्धरः ।
 कोऽसौ रामः सशत्रुघ्नः कोऽयं स्वल्पबलाश्रितः ।.....
 इत्यादि वाक्यमुच्चार्य लवो जग्राह तं हयम् ॥

Soldiers came to rescue the horse, but Lava cut off their arms.
 The commander Kálajit then came up and said—

बाल मुञ्च हयश्रेष्ठं रामस्य बलशालिनः ।
 अन्यथा तव मे सौख्याज्जीवितं न भविष्यति ॥

But Lava laughed at him and Kálajit fell in the fight. Other chiefs followed and shared the same fate. Śatrughna then personally came to the contest and after a severe fight carried Lava a captive. Soon after Kuśa came from Ujjayinī and learnt from his mother his brother's fate.

निशम्य मातुर्वचनं कुशः कोपसमन्वितः ।
 जगाद तां दशन् रोषादन्तैर्दन्तान् विनिष्पिषन् ॥
 कुश उवाच । मातर्जानीहि तं मुक्तं लवं पश्यसि बन्धनात् ।
 इदानीं हन्मि तं बाणैः समग्रबलवाहनम् ॥

Then he went to fight with Śatrughna, who after all fell in the battle. Kuśa then rescued his brother and tied the monkey-chiefs Sugrīva and Hanumān and went to their mother.

तावायातौ समीक्ष्यैव जहर्ष जननी तयोः ।
 अन्योन्यं परया प्रीत्या परिरेभे निजौ सुतौ ॥
 ताभ्यां पुच्छे गृहीतौ तौ वानरौ वीक्ष्य जानकी ।
 हनुमन्तञ्च सुग्रीवं सर्ववीरकपीश्वरम् ॥
 जहास पाशबद्धौ तौ वीक्षमाणा वराङ्गना ।
 उवाच च विमोक्षार्थं वदन्ती वचनं वरम् ॥.....
 यद्यहं मनसा वाचा कर्मणा रघुनायकम् ।
 भजामि नान्यं मनसा तर्हि जीवेदयं नृपः ॥
 सैन्यञ्चापि महत् सर्वं यन्नाशितमिदं बलात् ।

इति यावद्वचो ब्रूते जानकी पतिदेवता ।
तावत् सर्वं बलं नष्टं जीवितं रणमूर्धनि ॥

(chapters 81 to 91)

I may, however, add that this description, from internal evidence, appears to be of comparatively recent origin. I do not discuss the subject as it is not connected with the subject of this essay.

APPENDIX I

SHORT BIOGRAPHY OF ANUNDORAM BOROOAH

Introductory: The latter half of the nineteenth century witnessed a glorious band of workers in the field of Sanskrit research in India. This gifted brotherhood included among its members the late R. C. Dutt, Raja Rajendralal Mitra, Swami Dayananda Saraswati, Pandit Indrajī Bhavani, Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar and Anundoram Borooah. The last, by dint of his earnestness of purpose and his life-long devotion to the cause of Sanskrit scholarship, has won an imperishable name in the annals of Indian Sanskrit research. Thirty-five or forty years ago, no Indian *savant's* name had excited greater admiration and applause than Borooah's and this feeling was rightly echoed in the *Lahore Tribune* of those days,—“Sri Borooah's Sanskrit scholarship is as profound and accurate as it is extensive. We are proud of him as a nation, and we earnestly hope that our brightest youths may follow his noble though very arduous path.”

Borooah was a member of the Indian Civil Service, and was for some years in charge of a heavy district in Bengal. The scope of his work and the range of his scholastic investigations which he strenuously carried on in the midst of his busy official duties show him, to quote Prof. Cecil Bendall's words in the *Trubner's Record*, 1889, “to have been a kindred spirit with administrators like Colebrooke and Burnell among the illustrious dead, and the small band of living workers like Grierson, Fleet and R. C. Temple.”

Borooah is a fine flower of western culture. The profound erudition of the oriental scholar combined with the critical spirit of the west, imparted to Borooah's works a peculiar value and lustre. As the greatest intellectual representative of the “benighted province of Assam”, Borooah is the glory of the Assamese; and Assam has not produced a greater man during the space of ninety-five years that she has come under British rule. His name has been an example and an inspiration to thousands of the youths of Assam.

Life: Anundoram Borooah, B.A., I.C.S., Barrister-at-Law, was born in May, 1850, at North Gauhati in the district of Kamrup, Assam. This Kamrup forms at present only a fragment of the greater Kamarupa Empire of yore, hallowed by the names of Narakasur, Bhagadatta, Bana, Bhaskara-Varma, Naranarayan, Pratap Singha Swargadeo and Rudra Singha Swargadeo among her kings; Jongal Balahu, Cilarai and Lachit Phukon among her heroes and soldiers; Usha, Rukmini, Behula, Joymati and

Phuleswari Barkuanri among her women; Dak, Sankar Deva, Madhav Deva, Purusottam Vidyabagish and Anundoram Dhekial Phukon among her saints and literateurs; and Momai Tamooli Barborooah and Rajmantri Purnananda Buragohain among her ministers and statesmen. Anundoram belonged to the well-known Majindar Borooah family of Assam. His father, an Assamese gentleman of the older type, was for some years a *Sadar Amin*, a post equivalent to a modern Deputy Magistrateship.

Through the efforts of his learned father, Anundoram was initiated into the vast potentialities of the *Deva Bhasha* even during his childhood. With the help of an erudite Sanskrit Pandit who was appointed to teach him Sanskrit, Anundoram mastered and got by heart the whole of the immortal lexicon *Amarakosha* before he was fourteen, at which age he also passed the Entrance Examination of the Calcutta University. He read for the first Arts Examination in the Presidency College of Calcutta, and there he had as his teachers the great educationists, Mahamahopadhyaya Mohesh Chandra Nyayaratna, C. I. E. in Sanskrit, and Sir (then Sri) Gurudas Banerji in Mathematics. Boroorah had as his class-mate late R. C. Dutt, I.C.S., B. L. Gupta, I.C.S., and Kartick Chandra Mitra, M.A., P.R.S. and as his contemporary college friends the Right Honourable Syed Amir Ali, P.C., Sir Surendranath Banerji, Kt., and the poet Babu Nabin Chandra Sen. Sir Gurudas Banerji has once fittingly remarked,—“The First-year Class of the Presidency College of 1865 was a splendid one containing many very brilliant students, . . . and Mr. Borooah was unquestionably the brightest of this bright band of young students.”

Anundoram stood sixth in the First Class in the F. A. Examination held in December 18, 1866, securing the Duff scholarship in Mathematics, and in January, 1869, he stood third in the First Class in the B. A. Examination of the Calcutta University. Emulating the noble example of the glorious *trio*, Surendranath Banerji, Beharilal Gupta and Ramesh Chandra Dutt, who had left for England a few months ago, Borooah made up his mind to proceed to England, and sat in the competitive examination for the State Scholarship tenable in England. The Syndicate of the Calcutta University in their sitting of the 29th January, 1869, elected Borooah to the scholarship. Besides the State Scholarship, Sri Borooah won by open competition the Gilchrist Scholarship as well, and the total value of these stipends amounted to £300/- a year.

Borooah proceeded to England in the spring of 1869 with H. Woodrow, M.A., sometime D. P. I. of Bengal, who had taken a kindly interest in this young prodigy from Assam, and had introduced him to Lord Mayo, the then Viceroy and Governor-General of India. Borooah joined one of the Civil Service coaching institutions in London, studied Science in the London University and Law in the Middle Temple. His aptitude for scientific study was so great that Dr. Carpenter, Professor of Zoology in the

London University and Principal of the University College, London, once remarked,—“Mr. Borooah was the most inquisitive student that I have ever come across.” Borooah passed the I. C. S. Examination in 1870, was called to the Bar in the subsequent year, and is said to have passed also the B. Sc. Examination of the London University. He stood high in Mathematics in the Civil Service Examination. During his stay in England Borooah contracted intimacy with late Sir Taraknath Palit, Kt., D.L. (then Mr.) and it ceased only with the death of Borooah. It may be noted here that Borooah was the first Assamese graduate, the first Assamese Barrister and the first Assamese Civilian, and that up to the present time no other Assamese has been successful in the open competition for the I.C.S.

Borooah returned to India in the autumn of 1872, and was appointed Assistant Commissioner of the Sibsagar District in his own province, Assam. After a year of service in Assam, Borooah secured transfer to Bengal where he passed the remaining years of his life. His short stay in Sibsagar was marked by his scholastic habits, and his independence of attitude for which he had occasional misunderstanding with his superiors. His usual dress was the old-fashioned aristocratic *chouga and chapkan* and he used to have a book by his side even in the court which he read in the intervals of his magisterial functions.

Borooah served as an Assistant Magistrate in several places in Bengal; and when after a prolonged agitation, which had as its great patron and supporter, Sir William Hunter, Indian Civilians were first entrusted with the charge of districts, Borooah and R. C. Dutt were eventually appointed District Magistrates and Collectors. And as it is always the case, when Indians are given fair opportunities to prove their mettle they respond magnificently, Borooah and Dutt discharged their duties without any hitch or trouble and thereby paved the path for the Indians in securing the highest responsible posts under the Government.

Borooah did not allow his literary zeal to be damped by the heavy responsibilities of a Magistrate's duties; there issued forth from his pen every year books after books—lexicons, grammars, editions of old Sanskrit texts, and compilations from old Sanskrit authors. In 1881, Borooah projected the compilation of a comprehensive Grammar of the Sanskrit Language in twelve volumes, of one thousand pages each, and to be able to consult the oriental books and manuscripts of the British Museum, London, he took two year's furlough from November, 1881, and sailed for England. He carried on his investigations in England, and in this undertaking his great helpers were Prof. Cecil Bendall, the Keeper of Oriental Books in the British Museum, Nicholson, the Bodleian Librarian at Oxford, and Dr. Reinhold Rost, the learned Librarian of the India Office. After collecting sufficient materials Borooah returned to India in October, 1883.

In 1885, Borooah, was appointed Fellow of the Calcutta University, and

was attached to the Faculty of Arts. Two years after he was placed for the second time in charge of the Noakhali District in Bengal; and there by his learning, benevolence, sympathetic treatment of the people, and various acts of public utility Borooah won the heart of the people. Schools and markets were established in Borooah's name, and tanks were dug in the interior parts of Bengal and named after him. The learned *Burra Saheb* of Noakhali used to place at his gate always a man with a few baskets of rice, and any beggar would have his share at any hour of the day. When Borooah went out to the *Mofussil* he had with him an additional cart loaded with provisions and food which he distributed among the needy folks as they clustered round to catch a glimpse of the Indian magistrate. All these sounds romantic and legendary, but it was for this reason that Borooah's name had spread an irresistible charm over the hearts of the people of Bengal. Borooah helped many poor students with books and money, and educated a meritorious Bengali student even in England. He had a staff of erudite Sanskrit *Pundits* whom he paid handsomely. This learned *congerie* of orthodox *Pundits* helped Borooah in the mechanical portions of his literary endeavours. As an official too he won the trust and confidence of the Government.

In the winter of 1888, Borooah became ill. A sudden attack of paralysis, aggravated by an ill-advised sea-bath, disabled him, and he took leave for three months. He went to Calcutta, lived at the Ballygunge residence of his old friend, Sir Taraknath Palit, and placed himself under the treatment of the best allopathic, homeopathic, and *Ayurvedic* physicians of the day. But even their united efforts failed to cure that fell disease. Borooah passed away in the afternoon of the 19th January, 1889.

Literary Works: Borooah's literary career spread over a period of twelve years only; and considering the shortness of the period, the character of his productions, both in their qualitative and quantitative aspects was simply marvellous. His *English-Sanskrit Dictionary* appeared in three volumes between 1877 and 1880, and for many years it was the only work of its kind written by an Indian. On the completion of this *magnum opus*, Borooah was congratulated from all quarters, including among them the illustrious names of Lord Northbrooke, Governor-General of India, and Prof. F. Max Muller. To the second and third volumes of his Dictionary, Borooah prefixed two other original and useful works, viz., his *Higher Sanskrit Grammar* and *Ancient Geography of India*.

This was followed by an edition of Bhavabhuti's *Mahaavirachaitam* with Borooah's lucid commentary in Sanskrit called *Janakiramabhasya* after, his beloved brother Janakiram Borooah. Borooah's next literary ventures were, first, a critical dissertation, named, *Bhavabhuti and his place in Sanskrit literature*, which contained an exhaustive treatment of the *Ramaic drama*, besides Bhavabhuti and his age; and secondly, *A Companion to the Sanskrit-reading undergraduates of the Calcutta University*, being a few notes on the Sanskrit texts

selected for the F. A. and B. A. Examinations. Small though in bulk, the latter books are an important contribution to Sanskrit scholarship. Borooah's comments were suggestive rather than detailed.

The next literary enterprise of Borooah was, to quote Mr. R. C. Dutt's words, "a Sanskrit grammar of formidable size and erudition." In 1881, Borooah projected the compilation of *A Comprehensive Grammar of the Sanskrit Language, Critical, Analytical and Historical*, in twelve volumes of one thousand pages each. Its object, as described by Borooah in a prospectus which was circulated among his friends, and lovers and promoters of Sanskrit culture—"was to simplify the rules of grammar as far as possible, to examine their historical growth, and illustrate them fully from the existing literature, both ancient and modern, and to offer a complete commentary on all the Vedas." The first volume of the series, which was on Sanskrit Prosody, came out in 1882 under the somewhat eccentric title of Volume X. The next volume was on Letters and their changes, *Nanartha-Samgraha*, which came out in 1884 as Volume III of the series. The learned world was startled at the encyclopædic character of Borooah's great undertaking. Professor Max Muller wrote to Borooah from Oxford,—“I confess I felt almost overwhelmed by the grandeur of it, but if only you carry out some portion of it, you will have done a very useful work... It is a great undertaking and will require for its completion a long life, a long purse and long patience.”

Borooah did not live to complete this great literary project. The remaining years of his life were spent in publishing scholarly editions of *Saraswatikanthabharanam*, Amara's *Namalinganusasanam* with the commentary of Khiraswami, *Dhatukosh* and *Dhatuvrittisara*.

Besides these Sanskrit works, Borooah had arranged to compile a Dialectal Dictionary of the Bengali language, and had for this purpose negotiated with the Government of Bengal for its help and co-operation.

Borooah was a Sanskrit poet of no mean order. In his edition of *Mahavira-charitam* he had added towards the end of each Act a few auto-biographical verses in Sanskrit. These scattered lines, and his *Invocation* to the Sanskrit Muse prefixed to the second volume of his Dictionary, show how this eminent Indian Sanskritist had assimilated the rhythm and melody of the language of his forefathers.

Conclusion: Borooah's useful career was cut short by his untimely death; but his indefatigable exertions on behalf of Sanskrit learning will always be an example to the rising generations of India. His earnestness of purpose is best manifested in his confirmed bachelorhood. As a member of the Indian Civil Service, enjoying the highest emoluments and honour open to an Indian, Borooah could have lived a life of ease and comfort. But Borooah, whose love of Sanskrit did not allow him to share his heart with any earthly object preferred to remain a bachelor; and when he was pressed by any friend to marry he would simply point to the vast array of books in his

magnificent library and say,—“This is the darling of my life demanding from me my best energy and attention.”

To Borooah, “Sanskrit is dearer than any other language. Its music has charms which no words can express. Its capability of representing every form of human thought in most appropriate language is probably not rivalled, certainly not surpassed by any other language.” Borooah always regretted that “Sanskrit research seemed yet to attract very few scholars,” and he hoped “that the day is not distant when our countrymen will care more for our home literature than they do now for Shakespeare and Bacon, for Addison and Johnson.”

Borooah’s broader outlook, his intense love of Sanskrit, and his realisation of the glorious past and the present decadence of the *Deva-Bhasha* led him to neglect the more immediate demand of his own mother language and literature, viz. Assamese, which could not well afford to spare a man of genius of Sri Borooah’s calibre from its service; but on the other hand, it freed him from the provincial patriotism which sometime forces people to lose sight of the greater demands of our common mother India. Borooah used to say when any of his zealous countrymen tried to impress upon his mind the necessity of diverting his literary activities towards the cause of Assamese language and literature,—“whatever I do for our common mother India will be shared in due course by my own Assamese fellow countrymen who form an essential factor of the greater Indian brotherhood.”

Borooah’s passionate devotion to the cause of Sanskrit learning displaced all other ties from his mind. He was extremely reserved and uncommunicative, and did not like to court ephemeral glory and reputation by playing to the gallery, or by making speeches at the slightest provocation. As a silent and unpretentious worker, who maintained the lofty tenor of his mind and the steadfastness of his purpose in the midst of the career, Borooah occupies a place of honour in the rank of the selfless servants of India. What he could do had he not died at the age of thirty-nine reminds us of the measureless potentialities of the glorious “might-have-beens” of the world of which Borooah is a remarkable example.

Here we cannot resist the temptation of quoting the beautiful words of Borooah’s great contemporary, Bolinarayan Borah—one of the pioneer Indian Civil Engineers from Cooper’s Hill, England,—“Sri Borooah’s singleness of purpose was his great characteristic. The industry and application which it demanded made him lead a too sedentary life. He sought little recreation, relief, change and variety. He burnt his candle at both ends, had naturally to pay the inevitable penalty. His life was a meteoric flash and blaze, which burnt up the substance in its lightning course, dazzling mankind for a moment and disappearing for ever from view.”

APPENDIX II

APPRECIATIONS OF ANUNDORAM BOROOAH

1. *Sir Gurudas Banerjee*, Kt., M.A., D.L., PH.D., formerly Vice-chancellor of the Calcutta University, sometime Puisne Judge of the Calcutta High-Court, in a letter to Dr. S. K. Bhuyan, dated Narikeldanga, Calcutta, January 24, 1912, said:

"In compliance with your verbal request made to me yesterday, I have much pleasure in sending you the following note embodying my reminiscences regarding the late Mr. Anundoram Borooah.

"I became acquainted with Mr. Anundoram Borooah as a first-year student of the Presidency College in 1865, when I was temporarily appointed as an Assistant Lecturer on Mathematics in that College. I came into contact with him almost every day for a period of one year and the impression he left on my mind was a very favourable one. He was very modest and unassuming, and he did his work in the class remarkably well. There was no problem in Mathematics, simple or difficult, set by me in the class, which Sri Borooah failed to solve. He was quick in arriving at his solutions and they were generally simple and ingenious. The first-year class in the Presidency College that year was a splendid class, containing many very brilliant students, such as the late Sri R. C. Dutt, the late Babu Kartick Chandra Mitra (who afterwards obtained the Premchand Roychand scholarship and was for many years a leading pleader of Midnapur), Babu Trailokyanath Bose, for many years a leader of the Dacca Bar, Sri B. L. Gupta, and Babu Umakali Mukherjee, one of the leading Vakils of the High Court. Of these Babu Kartick Chandra Mitra, Trailokyanath Bose and Umakali Mukherjee were exceedingly good in my subject; *and Sri Borooah was unquestionably the brightest of this bright band of young students*. It is worthy of note that his class-fellows never grudged to admit his superior merit. It is a matter of deep regret that his brilliant career of public service was cut off so early."

2. *Sri Bolinarayan Borah*, C.E. (Retd.), formerly Executive Engineer, Assam, in a letter to Dr. S. K. Bhuyan, dated *Rothiemay*, Darjeeling, November, 19, 1919, said:

"I am in receipt of your letter of the 14th instant, in which you ask me to contribute whatever reminiscences I have of the late Sri A. Borooah, towards the compilation of his biography that you have undertaken, as you are under the impression that I was a close friend of his, and that therefore I was in a position to tell you many things about him. Excuse me saying that you are mistaken in both these respects. I was no personal friend of Sri A. Borooah,

indeed I hardly ever came in contact with him; and consequently I can tell you very little about him that is not well-known to anybody else. He was too great a genius and a too sedentary worker to be a close friend of any man.

"I met him in school days in Assam for two or three years, but we hardly exchanged a word, as he had the habit of being rather reserved, exclusive, and too attentive to his books, which unfortunately I was not. Since he left Assam after passing the Entrance Examination in 1864, we never met again. I was not in Calcutta when he was there, I was not in England when he was there. His service was mostly in Bengal, and mine in Assam. So, except for a little correspondence on business matters, I had never come across him. But I knew that he had a great aptitude for Sanskrit studies, for he was known to have been able to recite from memory the whole of Amarakosha even at the early age of 12 or 14. He had an aptitude for Mathematics in 1866 at the First Arts Examination of the Calcutta University, and I believe first too in the Indian Civil Service Examination in 1870. In 1869 he won the State Scholarship of £200 a year tenable for 3 years, and the Gilchrist Scholarship of £100 a year tenable for 5 years in England, having stood first in the respective competitive examinations.

"Sri Borooah continued his Sanskrit studies even after he had entered Government Service, and his monumental work, the Sanskrit Dictionary, besides other Sanskrit works on Grammar, will for all time remain as standing evidence of his genius and industry in the philological line. It was in his contemplation to take in hand a Comprehensive Dictionary of all the Dialects of Bengal when his career was cut short by an all-too-early and sudden death.

"He never married. Being wedded to literature alone, he devoted to it all his talents, all his capacity for work, all his energy and all his leisure. But let it not be supposed that he never meant to marry. For even so early as the age of 24, on his return from England he was said to have shown to a friend the portrait of what he called his "intended bride." But literature, his second love, seems to have displaced all other ties from his mind. This singleness of purpose was the great characteristic of Sri Borooah. The industry and application which it demanded made him lead a too sedentary life. He sought little recreation, relief, change and variety. He burnt his candle at both ends, and had naturally to pay the inevitable penalty. His life was a meteoric flash and blaze, which burnt up the substance in its lightning course, dazzling mankind for a moment, and disappearing for ever from view.

"From the above it may perhaps appear to many that this great man was a mere machine, that cannot be credited as having a soul and human sympathy, a mere word-making and figure-calculating machine. But it is not so. His work in the cause of learned humanity is the best proof of his human feeling. His solitude was only the necessary condition of his work.

He did not live as an ascetic away from mankind. He lived and worked among men, with men, and came in daily contact with them while discharging his official duties. At home in his private work, he was constantly in company of learned Pandits, and in correspondence with Indian and European scholars. He had a few intimate friends too, though they must necessarily be few, for he did not seek cheap popularity by playing to the gallery, or by showing himself all over the shop, or by making speeches at the slightest provocation. As Emerson said,—“It is easy in the world to live after the world’s opinion: it is easy in solitude to live after your own, but the great man is he, who, in midst of the crowd, keeps with perfect sweetness the independence of solitude,”—and I think Sri Anundoram Borooah was just such a great man.

“Sri Borooah was an Assamese by birth. He has been an exemplar to Assamese youths for the last half a century, and even as such he has done great good to Assam. But it would be too provincial to call him Assamese and claim him for the little region of Assam. He really belonged to the region of literature. He is claimed by all scholars as belonging to their own class. He is claimed by all India as the enricher of her literature. He is claimed by Bengal, where he did his life’s work. He is even claimed by the little town of Berhampur, where he possessed a local habitation, and where he intended to live and work after retirement from service. After satisfying all these claims, the little village of North Gauhati, where he had his parental home, will not have left much for her share. Nevertheless he was first an Assamese, and next all else, and it is an Assamese gentleman at last that has now first undertaken to write his biography, in spite of all the claims of all the scholars from London to Berhampore.

“Thanking you, Sri Bhuyan, for your courtesy in referring to me for any information I could possibly give you towards the compilation of your biography, and regretting very much that, not having ever come in personal contact with its subject, my contribution is necessarily poor and futile.”

3. *Prof. Cecil Bendall* M.A., Keeper of Oriental Books, British Museum, London, in *The Trubner’s Record* No. 245, 189, recorded:

“I have been asked to contribute a notice of the life of Anundoram Vaduya (Borooah). His death is announced in the *Indian Magazine* for March, as having been caused by fever and paralysis, but I cannot hear of any obituary notices by his friends, such as might have been expected to appear in the Indian Press. I understand that he died as long ago as the beginning of January last. Pending fuller information from such quarters, I venture to subjoin the few facts of his life that I have been able to ascertain together with some notice of the useful works by which his name will be long remembered among Sanskritists.

“The deceased scholar was born in 1850, being the second son of Gargaram Vaduya and his wife Durlabheswari, of Gauhati (Gawhatty) in

Assam. Of his family and caste I have no means at hand of ascertaining any further facts, though I think that his caste-name is not uncommon in Assam. I may here note in passing that my transcription of his name is taken from the Nagari title-page of his edition of the Mahaviracharita, where his name appears as बडुया ।

"I have never heard the name pronounced by an Assami, but probably 'Borooah' is as misleading as 'Oude' and the other popular spellings to which the average resident in India clings with such tenacity. He was educated at Presidency College, Calcutta, and graduated B.A. at the Calcutta University in 1869.

"Proceeding to England as a candidate for the Civil Service, for which he was selected in 1870, he matriculated at the London University in the same year, and entered as a student of the Middle Temple, and in 1872 was called to the Bar. He revisited England at least once, for I met him in London about 1884. His manner with strangers at least was very reserved and retiring.

"Of his career as a civilian, which he commenced in Bengal in 1872, I have little or nothing to say. At the time of his death he was Joint Magistrate and Deputy Collector of Jessore.* But I cannot forbear to remark that his life gives us all an example, whether in government service or out of it, to show that a mass of routine work need not crush out literary activity when a man is really in earnest. As a rule the Civil Service of India has done little for the literature and science of the country, the exceptions to this being chiefly men in the Educational Department. But certainly, Anundoram Vaduya's twelve well-spent years of service* show him to have been a kindred spirit with administrators like Colebrooke and Burnell among the illustrious dead, and the small band of living workers like Grierson, Fleet and R. C. Temple. Vaduya's first work appeared in May, 1877, and from its Preface we find that it was commenced about 1873 and announced in March, 1876. This was his 'Practical English-Sanskrit Dictionary,' a most original and truly practical work. Not content with commencing with such a *magnum opus* as a dictionary, he added to its second and third volumes two new and original works, viz. his "Higher Sanskrit Grammar" and a list of Sanskrit geographical names, illustrated by a valuable prefatory essay. Both are thoroughly original works, and rather suffer by being united with the Dictionary; the latter is I believe still a unique contribution to Indian research, though only a small one, the great value of the former (now published separately) may be seen from the frequent references to it in Dr. J. S. Speijer's recent work on the same subject.

"In the same year, 1877, appeared the edition of Bhababhuti's Mahaviracharita already referred to in passing, which was followed in 1878 by the

*Sri Borooah was at the time of his death Offg. District Magistrate and Collector, Noakhali. He had then completed 16 years of service.

essay on Bhababhuti intended to have formed a part of the same book. A third work was completed by Vaduya in 1877, and appeared in 1878, viz. his "Companion to the Sanskrit-reading Undergraduates of the Calcutta University." This consists of criticisms on the commentaries of the two set portions of Kavyas in the University curriculum for 1878; and forms with the works last mentioned, Vaduya's sole contribution to the criticism of Kavya literature. But small in bulk though it is, I cannot but consider it an important contribution to Sanskrit scholarship. European editions of Sanskrit classics generally consist of text with, occasionally, a few original explanatory notes, and at best more or less meagre extracts from the great native commentators. Indian editors, on the other hand, do not really elucidate either text or commentary but compose a learned super-commentary, which is often, as in the case of Taranatha on the 'Siddhanta-Kaumudi' obscurer than the work professed to be explained. Vaduya takes a most useful middle-course, and without being carried away by the authority of Mallinatha or even by that of Amarsingha or Panini, explains both commentary and text. This is most useful to the European student. There are plenty of helps for Kalidasa and Manu themselves; but for the due understanding of Mallinatha, Govindaraja or Kulluka, to what work can one refer a pupil? My own acquaintance, such as it is, with these important scholiasts was first derived, in orthodox fashion, from the mouth of my 'acharya' (Vaduya's teacher too, at Presidency College by the by), who himself was instructed by duly qualified Brahmins; but I question whether the average European student is in a position to study these writers as they deserve. Here, then, was a good and new departure worthy of imitation by Sanskritists, in all lands, and especially in India.

"Vaduya's remaining works are devoted to the sides of Sanskrit study in which he evidently felt most interest, lexicography, grammar and *ars Poetica*. To the first mentioned class belongs the work which he was publishing at the time of his death, a new edition of the Amarakosha, with several unpublished commentaries, while with the second and third we may rank his 'Dhatu-Vritti-Sara' published in 1886, his collections of and the extensive work on Prosody which he published in 1882, under the somewhat eccentric title of Volume the Tenth of a projected Comprehensive Sanskrit Grammar. These substantial volumes each carefully planned and worked out might well have occupied the leisure of even a far less busy man for a good twenty years.

"But it is not only on the extent of this good scholar's work that I would insist. There is something also in its method and spirit that demand our attention. We often hear complaints of the effect of Western education in India; that the old learning is passing away giving place to an ungodly and bastard veneer of European instruction (I fear I must proudly call it education), tending to replace the grand old figure of the Pandit of old, by that

terrible production of the nineteenth century known as the Babu, the butt of satire both European and native as well. Yet Anundoram Vaduya, born near, and educated in Bengal, the hotbed of 'Babudom', a seeker and a successful seeker of Government employ, the chief prize of this curious educational compromise, never lost his interest in the problems of Sanskrit scholarship.

"Evidently well-grounded in Panini (and where, I would ask the advocates of English education for India, can we find a finer educational instrument than the great Indian Grammars studied in the light of modern research ?), Vaduya brought to bear on the criticism of Sanskrit texts, something of the spirit of what we understand by classical scholarship. He neither discusses the old scholiasts and grammarians with the slavish obsequiousness of a mere follower of tradition nor yet ignores them like the uninitiated foreign critic, but rather weighs one with another and adjusts the results by the standard of modern research.

"Such seems to me the character of Vaduya's work, and it is because I so strongly feel the value of his example to all of us oriental students, whether European or native, that I have ventured to draw out this notice to greater length than I had at first intended."

APPENDIX III

OBITUARY NOTICES ON BOROOAH

1. *Sri Ramesh Chander Dutt*, I.C.S., C.I.E., in the Preface to his 'Civilisation of Ancient India', 1888, writes:

"Amongst my countrymen the great reformer Raja Rammohan Ray and Dayananda Saraswati turned their attention to Sanskrit Literature.... and lastly my learned friend Sri Anundoram Borooah of the Bengal Civil Service has published a handy and excellent English-Sanskrit Dictionary, and is now engaged in a Sanskrit Grammar of formidable size and erudition."

Sri Dutt adds in a footnote to this passage: "Since the above lines were written, the author has received the sad intelligence of the death of the talented scholar. His untimely death is a loss to Sanskrit scholarship in this country which will not be easily remedied. To the present writer the sorrow is of a personal nature, as he enjoyed the friendship of the deceased for twenty years, and more—since the old College days in this country and in England."

2. *Dr. Gurudas Banerjee*, M.A., D.L., as Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University, in his Convocation speech, 1890, said:

"During the year under review we lost by death or retirement eleven of our colleagues in the Senate and the brief retrospect of the past would be incomplete if I were not to record our deep sense of regret for that loss. (Then follow references to the death of Reynolds and Kabiruddin Ahmed)."

"Sri Anundoram Borooah was a distinguished graduate of this University, and a no less distinguished member of the Civil Service. Amidst the engrossing duties of his office, he could find time to plan and partly execute literary works of profound scholarship, and it is a matter of no small regret that untimely death prevented him from completing them."

3. *The Hindu Patriot*, January 21, 1889, wrote:

"We deeply regret to announce the death of Mr. Anundoram Borooah, c.s., on Friday last from fever and paralysis. He was a highly cultured man and his scholastic attainments were well-known through the country. His Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary were worthy of a scholar, who had made this branch of knowledge a special study. As a distinguished public officer he enjoyed the confidence of Government and the good opinion of the people, and gave satisfaction wherever he went. He rose to be a District Magistrate when his career was unfortunately cut short. His early death is a loss to this country in general and to his service."

4. *The Indian Mirror*, January, 22, 1889, wrote:

"We deeply regret to hear of the death of Mr. A. Borooah, c.s., on

Friday, last in Calcutta. The number of covenanted civilans among our countrymen is not very large, and Mr. Borooah's loss is a great one indeed. He was a distinguished Sanskrit scholar, and did much to further the cause of Sanskrit learning. His premature death is mourned by the whole native community."

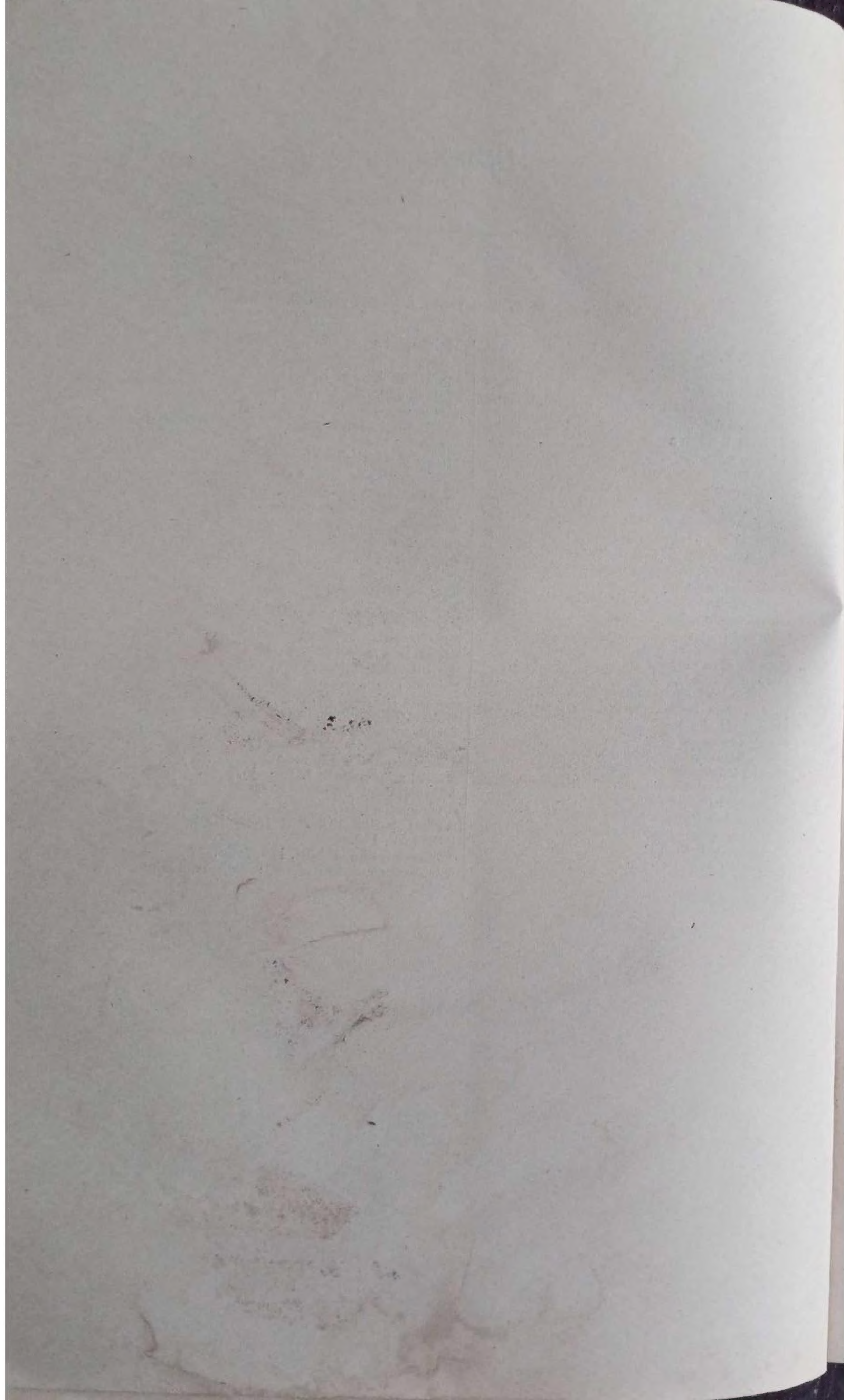
5. *Sir Surendranath Banerjee*, in his autobiography, '*A Nation in Making*', 1931, writes:

"Among the Indian candidates who competed with us for the Indian Civil Service in 1869 was another remarkable man whose early death deprived the world of a Sanskrit scholar of great promise—I mean Anundoram Borooah. In regard to him also there was the difficulty about the age to which I have referred; but, the point having been settled in my case, it was no longer raised in his. He came from Assam and distinguished himself at the examinations of the Calcutta University. Having obtained a state scholarship, he went to England to compete for the Indian Civil Service. He secured a place for himself among the successful candidates in 1870. As a member of the Indian Civil Service he combined the duties of an administrator with extraordinary devotion to literature, and at the time of his death, I understand, he was engaged in preparing a dictionary (grammar) of the Sanskrit language which, alas, never saw the light. His was a case of blighted promise which in its fruition would have enriched the world of letters."

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ANUNDORAM BOROOAH (1850-1889)

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